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A REFERENCE GRAMMAR OF HINDI, A STUDY OF SOME SELECTED TOPICS IN HINDI GRAMMAR.

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A REFERENCE GRAMMAR WAS COMPILED FOR MODERN STANDARD HINDI GRAMMAR. THIS GRAMMAR IS BASED UPON A VIEW THAT HINDI IS A LITERARY LANGUAGE, AND THAT ITS SYNTAX SHOULD THEREFORE BE STUDIED NOT ONLY AS THE SYNTAX OF A COLLOQUIAL LANGUAGE BUT ALSO AS THE SYNTAX OF A LITERARY LANGUAGE. THE MATERIAL FOR THE STUDY WAS TAKEN FROM LITERARY TEXTS. SOME EXPERIMENTAL APPROACHES WERE USED TO COMBINE A SYNTACTIC DESCRIPTION WITH A SEMANTIC DESCRIPTION AND TO REVEAL, AT THE SAME TIME, THE DEEP STRUCTURE OF THE LANGUAGE. MANY EXAMPLES WERE INCLUDED AS ILLUSTRATIONS. THE FOLLOWING TOPICS WERE OMITTED--(1) A MORPHOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF NOUNS, VERBS, AND ADJECTIVES, (2) A CLASSIFICATION OF ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS, (3) AN INVENTORY OF POST-POSTIONS, AND (4) AN ACCOUNT OF VARIOUS PROCESSES OF WORD FORMATION. (AL)

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# A REFERENCE GRAMMAR OF HINDI

## (A study of some selected topics in Hindi grammar)

by

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# Preface

As the sub-title of this Reference Grammar indicates, this study is an exploratory account of some selected topics in modern standard Hindi (MSH) grammar. A comparison between this Reference Grammar and other descriptions of the language -- traditional as well as others -- will reveal to the reader that neither the tradition of MSH grammar is sophisticated enough, nor is the required conceptual machinery available for the kind of description envisaged in these pages.

For a syntactic description to go hand in hand with a semantic description, and at the same time reveal the deep structure of the language (which is not just an "intuitively grasped conception" of MSH grammar),it was found desirable to experiment and explore as far as possible. An indication of some of the results of this experimentation, I believe, is adequately contained in this Reference Grammar.

A morphological description of nouns, verbs and adjectives, classification of adjectives and adverbs, an inventory of postpositions, and an account of various processes of word-formation have been deliberately left out. The reader is advised to consult one of the traditional grammars - especially Kāmatā Prasāda Guru, Hindī Vyākaraṇa or Edwin Greaves, Hindi Grammar - for a description of these topics. The other topics could not be included in this grammar because I neither had the time nor the means to adequately process the data. For example, an account of participles and infinitives had to be withheld at the last moment because a correct description of these phenomena presupposes a systematic description of conjoining and subjoining of sentences into clauses. Restrictions on the occurrence of participles and infinitives cannot be explained otherwise. An account of the verb $ho_2$- and of incomplete verbs could not be included for similar reasons.

There are different views about the nature of Hindi as a modern standard language, held by linguists and non-linguists scholars alike. The view I have adopted here is well-stated by Paul Hacker[1]:-

> The Khaṛī Bolī is a literary language. It is therefore legitimate and necessary that its syntax should be studfied not only as the syntax of a colloquial language but also, and specially, as the syntax of a literary language, i.e. that the material for the investigation should be taken from literary texts. The results obtainable from such study will present a survey of the grammatical state as well as of possibilities and tendencies and experiments that exist in the section of literature selected. The aid of persons who can be said to have Hindi as their mother tongue cannot, however, be dispensed with. But it has to be borne in mind that the questioning of informants includes sources of error. Interpretations and answers and comments given by informants can be used only as materials, not as solutions. They have to be tested by comparison with the results obtained from the observation of the literary material, and these results may again be tested in conversations and questions. Such procedures are, however, only accessory. The interpretation of the texts yields its results independently of informants comments.

The examples quoted in this grammar are almost all taken from various MSH texts, a partial list of these works is contained in the list of sources of examples. At some places an indication of the texts has been accidently omitted.

---

[1] Paul Hacker, On the problem of a method for treating the compound and conjunct verbs in Hindik(Reprinted from the "Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London," Vol. XXIV, Part 3, 1961), p. 507.

The glosses of sentences, where translated in full are approximate. Where only a noun or a verb etc. is translated, the English equivalent is to be interpreted as a kind of metalinguistic term not broken down into its various semantic features. All such terms, including the various others employed for feature indication of words throughout are based on Webster s Dictionary of Synonyms and the Webster s Third New International Dictionary, unless otherwise indicated.

Miss Marie Plazewski typed the English part of the MSS, and Mrs. Vimla Bahl the Hindi part. Miss Judith Aronson and Miss Marion F. Harr assisted with the English proofs. I am grateful to them all, especially to Miss Harr whose patience, skillful handling, and smooth coordination of work permitted me to devote all my time to the writing of the MSS.

I had the benefit of consulting A. K. Ramanujan, Norman Zide and C. M. Naim. Ralph Fasold translated some of the examples for me. I am also obliged to Leighton Hazelhurst for some terminological suggestions.

The encouragement and help I have received from Edward C. Dimock Jr. has always been a valuable asset.

## List of Sources of Examples

अंधेरे - मोहन राकेश, अंधेरे बन्द कमरे

अतीत के चल चित्र - महादेवी वर्मा, अतीत के चलचित्र

अनदेखे - राजेन्द्र यादव, अनदेखे अनजान पुल

अपनी खबर - पाण्डेय बेचन शर्मा उग्र, अपनी खबर

अमरीका -- लिण्डन बी० जानसन, मेरे सपनों का अमरीका

अशु - - अमृता प्रीतम, अशु

आखिरी आवाज - रांगेय राघव, आखिरी आवाज

आत्मदाह - चतुर्सेन शास्त्री, आत्मदाह

उखड़े हुए लोग - राजेन्द्र यादव, उखड़े हुए लोग

एमाइ - एस० सी० मित्तल, एडवान्सड मानेटरी एकनामिक्स

कचनार - वृन्दावन लाल वर्मा, कचनार

कहानी - इन्द्रनाथ मदान, कहानी की कहानी

कोठे - अमृतलाल नागर, ये कोठेवालियां

खाद - रनवीरसिंह तथा डी० आर० शर्मा, खाद एवं उर्वरक

खिलौने - भगवती चरण वर्मा, अपने खिलौने

गुनाहों - धर्मवीर भारती, गुनाहों का देवता

गुरू - कामता प्रसाद गुरू, हिन्दी व्याकरण

गोदान - प्रेमचन्द, गोदान

चन्दन - भगवती प्रसाद वाजपेयी, चन्दन और पानी

चारू - हजारी प्रसाद द्विवेदी, चारूचन्द्र लेख

चित्रलेखा - भगवती चरण वर्मा, चित्रलेखा

जलती झाड़ी - निर्मल वर्मा, जलती झाड़ी

ज्योति - जगदीश चन्द्र जैन, विश्व साहित्य के ज्योति-पुंज

टी सेट - भगवती प्रसाद वाजपेयी, टूटा टी सेट

ठेले - धर्मवीर भारती, ठेले पर हिमालय

त्यागपत्र - जैनेन्द्र कुमार, त्यागपत्र

थानवी - शौकत थानवी ( अनुवादक हंसराज ), सांच को आंच

दत्तकपुत्री - शिवकुमार कौशिक, वैशाली की दत्तक पुत्री

दबे पांव - वृन्दावन लाल वर्मा, दबेपांव

नदु - नन्द दुलारे वाजपेयी, प्रेमचन्द एक अध्ययन

निर्वासित - इलाचन्द्र जोशी, निर्वासित

पनघट - सुदर्शन, पनघट

प्रतिध्वनि - जयशंकर प्रसाद, प्रतिध्वनि

प्रेम - Norman Zide and others, A Premchand Hindi Reader

पांच लम्बी कहानियां - मोहन राकेश ( सम्पादक ), पांच लम्बी कहानियां

पीपल की परी - अमृतलाल नागर, पीपल की परी

बांके - वृन्दावन लाल वर्मा, दो बांके

बाण - हजारी प्रसाद द्विवेदी, बाण भट्ट की आत्मकथा

बूंद - अमृतलाल नागर, बूंद और समुद्र

भारत की भौगोलिक समीक्षा - कृपाशंकर गौड़, भारत की भौगोलिक समीक्षा

भोलानाथ - भोलानाथ तिवाड़ी, बृहत् पर्यायवाची कोश

मानक कोश - रामचन्द्र वर्मा ( सम्पादक ), मानक हिन्दी कोश

मान सरोवर - प्रेम चन्द, मानसरोवर

मैंने कहा - गोपाल प्रसाद व्यास, मैंने कहा

मोतियों वाले हाथ - मधुकर गंगाधर, मोतियों वाले हाथ

यांत्रिकी - जगद् बिहारी सेठ, यांत्रिकी

रजत जयन्ती ग्रन्थ - रजत जयन्ती ग्रन्थ, बम्बई हिन्दी विद्यापीठ

राकेश - मोहन राकेश, आखिरी चट्टान तक

राजस्थान के राजपूत - मांगीलाल महेचा, राजस्थान के राजपूत

राह - अमरकान्त, कंटीली राह के फूल

लज्जा - इलाचन्द्र जोशी, लज्जा

वे दिन - निर्मल वर्मा, वे दिन

शृंखला - महादेवी, शृंखला की कड़ियां

शेखर - सच्चिदानन्द हीरानन्द वातस्यायन अज्ञेय, शेखर, एक जीवनी, भाग १

स० स० - वृन्दावन लाल वर्मा, सामर्थ्य और सीमा

सज्जन - सज्जन सिंह, लद्दाख यात्रा की डायरी

सन्यासी - इलाचन्द्र जोशी, सन्यासी

सह्याद्रि - नरेश मिश्र, सह्याद्रि की बेटी

सामाजिक - रवीन्द्र नाथ मुखर्जी, सामाजिक मानवशास्त्र की रूप रेखा

साहित्यकार - महादेवी, साहित्यकार की आस्था तथा अन्य निबन्ध

सुदर्शन - सुदर्शन, चार कहानियां

सुहाग - अमृतलाल नागर, सुहाग के नूपुर

सूरज - धर्मवीर भारती, सूरज का सातवां घोड़ा

स्मृति - महादेवी वर्मा, स्मृति की रैखायें

हिन्दी भाषा - अम्बाप्रसाद सुमन, हिन्दी भाषा, अतीत और वर्तमान

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# Nouns

## 1. Stratification

1.1. MSH nouns belong to several strata which, disregarding the historical and etymological considerations, can be grouped along the following lines:

(a) inherited

(b) assimilated borrowings

(c) onomatopoetic

(d) technical terminology

Each of the above four strata has its own grammatical as well as lexical properties. Below we will discuss these properties.

1.2. Inherited Nouns: Among the inherited nouns are included all *tadbhava*, *ardhatatsama* and some *tatsama* nouns which, as far as MSH is concerned, are completely integrated among themselves and into the lexical and grammatical structure of the language. The *tatsamas* and the *ardhatasamas* inherited by MSH tend to loose their etymological identity, though there may be some question as to their identification as a category different from the nouns grouped as assimilated borrowings.

The general trend seems to be that the language retains only one of the several competing synonyms in any semantic field in Old Indo-Aryan. .g.:

| | |
|---|---|
| (१) गृह | घर |
| (२) अग्नि | आग |
| (३) हस्ति | हाथ |
| (४) स्वर्ण | सोना |

The other OIA synonyms which MSH does not retain as inherited nouns in the above semantic fields are as follows:

(१) निकेत, सदन, आगार, आयतन, आवास, निवास, etc.
(२) वह्नि, पावक, वैश्वानर, कृशानु, जातवेद ,etc.
(३) द्विप, कर, नाग, द्विरद, वारण , etc.
(४) हिरण्य हेम, कनक, हाटक, etc.

Quite a few of these noninherited synonyms of the inherited nouns are listed in MSH dictionaries and belong to the categories of assimilated borrowings and technical terminology.

The relative status of these OIA uninherited synonyms still remains to be investigated in their respective semanitc fields, but one can assume on the basis of the information available in Sankrit as well as Hindi dictionaries that the MSH inherited nouns geneally preserve the central meanings of their OIA originals and have lost all the peripheral meanings. Where an inherited word does not preserve the central semantic characteristics of its OIA original, MSH treats such a word as representing a lower level concept, and at the same time assigns an ardhatatsama or a borrowed word (mainly from Perso-Arabic) the status of a central concept in the given semantic field. On the other hand tatsama nouns, even though they may be treated as assimilated borrowings, seldom seem to belong to the level of central concepts in their respective semantic fields. For example the inherited तिरिया < स्त्री and वाई < वायु, which do not preserve the central meanings of their respective originals, are replaced by Perso-Arabic औरत and हवा in MSH.

1.3. Assimilated borrowings: Nouns belonging to the category of assimilated borrowings can be grouped in three subcategories, i.e. the borrowings from (a) Perso-Arabic, (b) Sanskrit tatsamas,(c) other MIA languages, English, French, Portuguese, and undetermined sources and (d) spelling variants of the words in the subcategories (a) and (b).

Below we shall discuss these subcategories of nouns except in subcategory (c).

1.31. The MSH nouns of Perso-Arabic origin have been categorized by Hardev Bahri in five groups as follows:

> "(1) Words which were absorbed by our language at one time or the other but have now become extinct, archaic or obsolete;(2) words and phrases which were translated from Persian, as we are doing today from English; (3) words which have become the property of the Hindi language and which it is almost imporsible to replace by NIA.

> (4) Words which are indeed, commonly used in Hindi, but which are still foreign in the eyes of the national 'State' and which are easily replaceable by the aboriginal group; and (5) words which have no right to be here as they are not commonly understood ... "

He goes on to say that "The Hindi speakers and scholars need not worry about the class of words (1) and (5). The former are dead and the latter will die." It is not possible to enumerate translated words, too. Bahri gives a long list of words in the fourth subgroup in Appendix C of his book along with their Hindi equivalents. His note of caution about these words, i.e. "We have to be very watchful about the fourth group", suggests that MSH writers and speakers should avoid the use of such words. A discussion about Bahri's word of caution is outside the scope of our grammar. We shall discuss at length the nature of the synonymous pairs of words listed by Bahri in the section on synonymy of nouns. Therefore all we can say here is that the pairs of words like the following are semantically quite distinct in MSH.

| Persian | Hindi |
|---|---|
| आबरू | मान |
| बीमारी | रोग |
| हवा | वायु |
| नीयत | इच्छा |
| काबू | वश |
| रास्ता | मार्ग, पथ |
| अफसर | अधिकारी |

Bahri also notes the fact that Persian loans in MSH have undergone some semantic changes. A few examples from Appendix D of his book are given below.

| | Persian meaning | Hindi meaning |
|---|---|---|
| वन्दा | servant, slave | man |
| दरिया | sea | river |
| जलूस | sitting | procession |
| खसम | enemy | husband |
| महल | place | palace |
| मसाला | opinion | spice |

Again one can say that quite a few Persian words still retain their original meaning, if the Persian meanings given by Bahri are reliable enough, while adding more semantic features to their denotational meanings. A few examples are given below.

| | Persian meaning | Hindi meaning |
|---|---|---|
| दावा | claim, demand | plaint, demand |
| दिमाग़ | brain | pride |
| सवारी | the act of riding | ride, vehicle |

1.3.2. Sanskrit tatsama constitute a bulk of learned borrowing from Sanskrit or of words of Sanskrit origin borrowed from other modern Indo-Aryan languages. Some of the properties of tatsamas are as follows:

(a) Tatsamas whose tadbhava counterparts have not become archaic, and are in common use, overwhelmingly tend to be narrower in meaning than their tadbhava counterparts. For example:

| Tadbhava | Tatsama |
|---|---|
| घर | गृह |
| गांव | ग्राम |

(b) Quite a few tatsamas are gaining currency in the language as technical or semitechnical terms in meanings other than they are thought to be.

A few examples are given below along with the title of text in which they are used as technical terms.

एस० एस० माथुर, समाज मनोविज्ञान

| | Usual meaning | Technical term |
|---|---|---|
| सुरक्षा | defence | security |
| प्रतिक्रिया | reaction | response |
| प्रतिष्ठा | installation,<br>reputation | recognition |
| आत्म प्रकाशन | self-expression | self-assertion |
| गुण | quality | trait |
| स्वभाव | nature | temperament |

कौशल कुमार राय, नगरीय समाज शास्त्र

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| दृष्टिकोण | point of view | attitude |
| क्षमता | capability | efficiency |

जगद्‌बिहारी सेठ, यांत्रिका

| | Usual meaning | Technical term |
|---|---|---|
| आवृत्ति | repetition | frequency |
| आवेश | excitement | charge |
| आवेग | a state of being overwhelmed | impulse |
| संघटन | unity | composition |
| युक्ति | method | device |

धीरेन्द्र नाथ मजुमदार तथा, गोपाल शरण, प्रागितिहास

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| स्तर | standard | stratum |
| अस्थिरता | instability | fluctuation |
| ग्राम्यता | rusticity | barbarianism |

(c) Tatsamas derived from the same OIA root are borrowed as independent words. A few examples of words derived from the OIA roots चर - , क्रम् - , and कृ - are given below.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| आचार | | आचरण | behavior |
| विचार | thought | विचरण | moving around |
| उपचार | treatment | संचरण | circulation |
| प्रचार | propaganda | | |
| अत्याचार | | | |

| | |
|---|---|
| उपक्रम | |
| विक्रम | valor |
| संक्रमण | |
| अतिक्रमण | overstepping the boundary |
| आक्रमण | attack |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| अधिकार | right | अधिकरण. | chapter |
| उपकार | benefit | उपकरण | instrument |
| प्रकार | kind | प्रकरण | section |
| तिरस्कार | rejection | तिरस्करण | rejecting |
| संस्कार | purification | संस्करण | edition |
| पुरस्कार | prize | | |

(d) Unlike the words in the category (c) above, there are pairs of words like the following, derived with OIA suffixes. MSH borrows both the nouns and their corresponding adjectives.

| Adjectives | Nouns |
|---|---|
| विदग्ध | विदग्धता, वैदग्ध्य |
| सुन्दर | सुन्दरता , सौन्दर्य |
| मधुर | मधुरता , माधुर्य |
| निपुण | निपुणता, नैपुण्य |
| प्रबल | प्रबलता , प्राबल्य |
| अतिशय | अतिशयता, आतिशय्य |
| अधिक | अधिकता, आधिक्य |
| गम्भीर | गम्भीरता, गाम्भीर्य |
| प्रधान | प्रधानता , प्राधान्य |
| उदार | उदारता , औदार्य |
| दुर्बल | दुर्बलता , दौर्बल्य |
| सम | समता, , साम्य |
| विचित्र | विचित्रता, वैचित्र्य |
| कुटिल | कुटिलता , कौटिल्य |
| प्रचुर | प्रचुरता , प्राचुर्य |
| तत्पर | तत्परता , तात्पर्य |
| सुभग | सुभगता , सौभाग्य |

Only the nouns ending in - ता are felt analyzable, and are used more frequently.

(e) Pairs of nouns like the following are relatively less common than those in the subgroup (d) above.

| | |
|---|---|
| गुरुत्व | गुरुता |

| | |
|---|---|
| वीरत्व | वीरता |
| लघुत्व | लघुता |
| प्रभुत्व | प्रभुता |
| एकत्व | एकता |
| ममत्व | ममता |
| महत्व | महत्ता |
| अमरत्व | अमरता |
| अल्पत्व | अल्पता |

Not all the tatsama nouns ending in -ता occur in pairs like those in groups (d) and (e).

(f) A very large class of nouns, all ending in न (or - ण ) occur in MSH. All the nouns in this category have their adjectives which are Sanskrit past participles.

| | |
|---|---|
| आकर्षित | आकर्षण |
| पतित | पतन |
| मोहित | मोहन |
| भ्रमित | भ्रमण |

Some of these nouns ending in – न have related nouns ending in – आ

| | |
|---|---|
| साधन | साधना |
| स्थापन | स्थापना |
| धारण | धारणा |
| विवेचन | विवेचना |
| गणन | गणना |
| लक्षण | लक्षणा |
| वर्णन | वर्णना |
| आराधन | आराधना |

(g) Pairs like the following which differ only in the presence and absence of - न् are generally sufficiently different in meaning from each other.

| | |
|---|---|
| आरोपण | आरोप |
| प्रकाशन | प्रकाश |
| मोहन | मोह |

There are quite a few other assimilated tatsama borrowings which do not come under groups of the kind mentioned above having obvious phonological similarity of some sort in the pairs of nouns.

1.3.3. The variation in the spellings of nouns of Perso-Arabic and tatsama origin, as it exists in the writings of some MSH fiction writers has not been studied at all from a lexicological point of view. It is generally thought that the phenomenon is a stylistic matter. Some MSH writers seem to use spelling variations more than others.

Spelling variations of tatsama nouns is well known in the tradition of Indo-Aryan. The category of words called ardhatatsama, does represent such spelling variants, though never studied or even recognized as a problem in the synchronic study of MSH. Since we have not investigated the problem in any detail we shall only present some evidence to establish the relevance of this problem. We shall first present some data from Tulsī Dāsa, Rāma Caritamānasa based on Hargobind Tiwari, Tulsī Sabdasāgara and then deal with the spelling variation as employed by Prem Chand in his well-known novel Godāna.

It is well-known that Tulsidāsa employed a considerable amount of Sanskrit tatsamas. Following we have a few examples illustrating somewhat roughly the extent of spelling variations in Tulsīdāsa. Along with the nouns listed below we shall give their MSH equivalents as they are listed in dictionary

अगुण (स०) - १ गुणरहित, मूर्ख, २ निर्गुण, ब्रह्म
अगुन - (स० अगुण ) १ निर्गुण, सत, रज और तम गुणों
से रहित, ब्रह्म, २ मूर्ख ३ दोष

अरुण - (स०) - १ लाल, रक्तवर्ण, २ सूर्य ३ सिंदूर
अरुन - (स० अरुण ) - १ सूर्य, २ लाल, ३ सूर्य
का सारथी ४ सिंदूर ५ कश्यप के पुत्र

अर्थ - (स०) .१ धन .२ अभिप्राय , मतलब ३ हेतु
४ इन्द्रियों के विषय ५ अर्थ , धर्म , काम और
मोक्ष चार फलों में से एक
अरथ - (सं० अर्थ) १ अभिप्राय , भाव , आशय , २ काम
३ हेतु , लिए , निमित्त ४ धन , संपत्ति
५ अर्थ , धर्म , काम , मोक्ष, चार फलों में से एक

अल्प - (स०) १ .थोड़ा , कुछ , कम , न्यून , २ थोड़ी
अवस्था , कच्ची अवस्था
अलप - (स० अल्प) - थोड़ा , लघु

अवनि - (स०)) पृथ्वी , जमीन
अवनी - (स० अवनि) - पृथ्वी , धरा , जमीन

आत्मा - (स०) १ जीव २ ब्रह्म ३ मन
आतमा - (स० आत्मा) १ जीव २ ब्रह्म

आपत्ति - (सं०) दु:ख , क्लेश , विघ्न , संकट
आपद - (सं० आपद्) - विपत्ति , कष्ट , दु:ख
आपदा - (सं०) दे० आपत्ति या आपद

उपबन - (सं० उपवन) १ बाग , बगीचा २ छोटे छोटे जंगल
उपवन - (सं) बाग , बगीचा , कुंज , फुलवारी

उपाइ (सं० उपाय) - युक्ति , साधना , तदबीर
उपाई - दे० उपाइ ,
उपाउ - दे० उपाइ ।
उपाय - (सं) १ युक्ति , तरीका , साधन २ निकट आना ,
पास पहुंचना

ज्ञान - (सं) १ ज्ञात होने का भाव , बोध , जानकारी , प्रतीति
२ आत्मज्ञान , तत्वज्ञान , विवेक , चैतन्यता
३ पहचान

ग्यान - (सं० ज्ञान) १ बोध , जानकारी , प्रतीति २ आत्म-
ज्ञान , तत्वज्ञान ३ पहिचान

क्षमता - (सं०) योग्यता , सामर्थ्य
छमता - (सं० क्षमता) सामर्थ्य. , योग्यता , शक्ति

क्षीणता - (सं०) १ दुर्बलता , कमजोरी २ सूक्ष्मता
छीनता - (सं० क्षीणता) १ क्षय , नाश , अंत , २ निर्बलता ,
कमजोरी , ३ कृशता , दुबलापन ४ सूक्ष्मता

क्षेत्र - (सं०) १ खेत , अन्न बोने की जगह २ स्थान ,
प्रदेश , ३ तीर्थ ४ शरीर ५ पत्नी
छेत्र - (सं० क्षेत्र) १ जहां कुछ बोया जाता है , अन्न २ योनि
उत्पत्ति स्थान ३ पुष्पस्थान , प्रयाग , तीर्थस्थान
४ पत्नी , मार्या ५ स्थान
छेत्रु - दे० क्षेत्र

खेत - (सं०क्षेत्र) १ रण क्षेत्र , लड़ाई का मैदान २ पुण्यभूमि
३ खेती करने की भूमि ४ योनि ५ चौरस ,
बरावर , समतल
खेता - दे० खेत

दर्शन - (सं०) १ चाक्षुष ज्ञान , अवलोकन २ एक विद्या
या शास्त्र जिसमें तत्वज्ञान हो । ३ आंख , नेत्र
४ स्वप्न ५ दर्पण , आइना , ६ वुद्धि ,
- मनीषा ७ धर्म
दरसन - (स० दर्शन) - देखना , अवलोकन , दर्शन
दरसनी - (सं० दर्शन) दर्पण , शीशा
दरशन - दे० दरसन

It should be mentioned here that there being no indication in Hargobind's own dictionary as to which edition of *Rāmacaritmānasa* was used by the lexicographer, we had no way of making any firsthand investigation of the variation in the meanings of the different spelling forms. But the large number of spelling variants and the differences in their meanings as listed in the dictionary, we think, is a phenomenon worth investigating systematically.

Tulsidāsa did not employ spelling variations in the Perso-Arabic borrowings very much. A recent study by Shambhu Nath Pandey[1] listed a sizeable number of such words without, however, discussing any meaning variations involved.

Spelling variants like the following exist in Prem Chand's *Godāna* quite frequently.

गर्दन , गरदन
जन्म , जनम
कर्ज , करज , कर्जा
पर्दा , परदा
मर्यादा , मरजाद
जाति , जात
खर्च , खरच , खर्चा

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[1] Shambhu Nath Pandey, *Ramacaritmānasa mẽ Videśī Śabda*, Gaveṣaṇā, Vol. II No. 4, Pages 84-94 (Journal of the Central Hindi Sansthāna, Āgrā) 1964.

Before any claim can be made about the difference in the meanings of these spelling variants, it is necessary to establish the relevance of some other factors. They are (a) speech situation, i.e. the author's own speech vs. reported speech. (b) form of the word, i.e. the spoken word vs. its written form, (c) language strata, i.e. colloquial vs. literary, (d)context of usage, i.e. specialized vs. non-specialized, and (e) extent of usage, i.e. local vs. nonlocal; or learned vs. ordinary usage.

If we examine the two spelling variants of the tatsama धर्म i.e. the forms धर्म and धरम , we find that the form धर्म occurs more frequently in the author's own speech, may or may not occur in the reported speech, it is a written form of the word confined to the literary stratum and employed primariy in specialized contexts without any regional restriction. The form धरम occurs in reported speech but may occur in the author's own speech, is a spoken form of the word, belongs to the colloquial stratum, employed in non-specialized contexts but may occur in specialized context, depending upon urban vs. rural or learned vs. ordinary usage.

The implications of the above-mentioned five factors are many. For instance a character from an urban environment may use the form in non-specialized contexts and a character with a rural background may employ the form घरम in specialized contexts, though the spoken form of the word for both of them may be घरम alone.

Another factor which should also be kept in mind is that the spelling variants like घरम , जनम etc. which do not conform to the original Sanskrit spellings, appearing in the speech of rural characters, is also Prem Chand's fiction. It would be in vain to search for any rural community speaking such a language. Therefore, these spelling variants should be studied as a purely literary device rather than as facts of speech.

If we study spelling variants as a purely literary device, we soon begin to discover some phonological as well as grammatical regularities. All phonological regularities like simplification of consonant clusters, eg. जन्म --->जनम , लक्ष्मी --> लछमी व्यंग्य ---> व्यंग and so on, accompanied by the grammatical constraints as exhibited by the lexical association between these spelling variants with other words in sentences, indicate the degree of assimilation of such words into the language. To illustrate the use of the phenomenon of spelling variation, we shall discuss the occurrences of the nouns मर्यादा and मर्जाद because this noun represents in Godāna a system of traditional values which stress the conformity by the individual and the society to a standard of what's proper or correct. The propriety of conduct, i.e., the system of traditional values as a guide to behavior runs as a central theme in the novel from beginning to end. होरी , the hero of this novel, passes away from the world but not even once in his life time does he let any of these traditional values, i.e. मर्यादा , down on any occasion. The characters who are directly concerned with the traditional values all come from rural background including the landlord रायसाहब who also lives in the city. So the मर्यादा of रायसाहब is put into sharp contrast with that of होरी . The propriety of conduct of रायसाहब is something different from that of होरी . The various senses in which the word मर्यादा and its spelling variants have occurred in Godāna can be understood in terms of a componential feature analysis of these words as they occur in sentences. We can define the words, or better, the abstract concept मर्यादा as propriety of conduct having the following opposing dimensions. The feature on the left hand of the oppositions pertains to राय साहब and the one on the right to होरी

(a) obligation : duty
(b) custom : tradition
(c) (emphasis on) conflict : (emphasis on) conformity
(d) (restoration of) prestige : (maintenance of) dignity
(e) reasoning : faith

The spelling variant मर्यादा is used through out in feminine gender but the variant मर्जाद occurs in feminine as well as non-feminine genders. The gender of the latter remains undetermined in some instances. Following sentences illustrate the occurrences of nouns मर्यादा and मरजाद in feminine and non-feminine genders.

"dignity"

लेकिन किसान के लिये ज़मीन जान से भी प्यारी है, कुल-मर्यादा से भी प्यारी है

"established rule" ( २५४

कुश-कन्या होरी भी दे सकता था । इसी में उसका मंगल भी था लेकिन कुल-मर्यादा कैसे छोड़ दे

( २५४

"prestige, dignity"

खेती में जो मरजाद है वह नौकरी में तो नहीं है

( १८ , २

"prestige"

धनिया की मूर्ति मानसिक नेत्रों के सामने आकर खड़ी हो गई - सेवा और त्याग की देवी, जबान की तेज पर मोम जैसा हृदय, पैसे - पैसे के पीछे प्राण देने वाली, पर मर्यादा - रक्षा के लिए अपना सर्वस्व होम कर देने को तैयार

"established rule" ( २६६

जिस समाज में जन्मे और पले, उसकी मर्यादा का पालन तो करना ही पड़ता है

( २६७

"dignity"

भोला के साथ वह छल कर रहा था और यह व्यापार उसकी मर्यादा के अनुकूल था

( ६

"established rules"

हम बिच्छू नहीं हैं कि अनायास ही सब को डंक मारते फिरें । नगरीबों का गला दबाना कोई बड़े आनन्द का काम है, लेकिन मर्यादाओं का पालन तो करना ही पड़ता है

( १७२

"established rule, obligation"

पर राय साहव अभी तक पुरानी मार्यादा निभाते आते हैं

( ७, २५

"established rule"

आते हैं मुझे उल्लू बनाकर मुझसे कुछ ऐंठने के लिए ।
आज मर्यादा का विचार छोड़ दूं, तो तालियां पिटने लगें

( १७२

"established rule, obligation"

आपके पास जमीन नहीं, जायदाद नहीं, मर्यादा का झमेला
नहीं, आप निर्भीक हो सकते हैं लेकिन आप भी दुम दबाये
बैठे हैं

( १७२

"dignity"

रोज-रोज आने से मरजाद भी तो नहीं रहती

( २५, २४

"dignity"

वही काम छोटे आदमी करते हैं तो उनकी मरजाद बिगड़ जाती है,
नाक कट जाती है

( १२४, २४

"dignity"

ऐसा कपूत निकला कि घर की सारी मरजाद बिगाड़ दी

( १२३, ३१

"bonds of morality"

हरखू ने निडरता से उत्तर दिया - तुम्हारे घर में भी लड़कियां है
होरी महतो, इतना समझलो । इस तरह गांव की मरजाद
बिगड़ने लगी , तो किसी की आबरू न बचेगी

( २४६

"**established rule, tradition**"

फिर मरजाद भी तो पालना पड़ता है

( १८ )

"**dignity**"

वह मरजाद अब उन्हें फिर नहीं मिल सकता

( २६८ )

"**prestige**"

वैसा ही मरजाद तो सबका है

( २३ )

"**prestige**"

हमने तुम्हारा मरजाद बना दिया, तुम्हारे मुंह की लाली रखली

( २६४ )

"**prestige**"

तुमने तो अपनों को भी पाला, जो तुमसे वैर करते थे ।
उनको भी पाला और अपना मरजाद बनाये बैठे हो

( ३५६ )

"**dignity, honor**"

एक प्राण का मूल्य लेकर - एक नहीं दो प्राणों को—
वह अपने मरजाद की रक्षा कैसे करती

( १२४ )

In the under-noted sentences the gender of the noun मरजाद , , because of the absence of an indication of any concord, remains undetermined.

"established rule, dignity"

दातादीन ने पुत्र-स्नेह से विह्वल हो कर कहा - ऐसा कहीं हो सकता है, बेटा धन जाय धरम जाय, लोक-मरजाद जाय, पर तुम्हें नहीं छोड़ सकता

( २५२ )

"dignity, honor"

और जब भगवान ने गौरी के भीतर बैठ कर यह पत्र लिखवाया तो तूने कुल-मरजाद का राग छेड़ दिया

( २६२ )

"dignity, honor"

झुनिया हंसकर तिरछी नजरों से देखती हुई बोली - वही मरजाद तो दे रही हूं

( २५, २८ )

"prestige"

अभी मान - मरजाद के मोह में वह चाहे मुझे छोड़ दें , लेकिन देख देना, फिर दौड़ा आयेगा

( २५६ )

The noun मरजाद occurs in almost all the types of grammatical environments in which मर्यादा occurs but the reverse does not hold true. The only exception is the absence of the plural of मरजाद

A systematic analysis of the grammatical context as well as semantic feature analysis of other crucial nouns like धर्म, धरम, जाति, जात, खर्च, .खरच, पर्दा, परदा and so on will reveal the similarity between these nouns and मर्यादा and मरजाद, i.e., the lexical semantic features which distinguish between the two spelling variants मर्यादा and मरजाद are also shared by other pairs of spelling variants.

Another point worth noting here is that Prem Chand does not extend the use of spelling variation to nouns indiscriminately. He overwhelmingly tends to restrict to it to the nouns which are highly culture-charged. Looked at from a stylistic point of view, the author uses the original like spellings in the grammatical environments labelled by Rulon Wells as nominalized styles, and employs the modified spellings in the grammatical environments of verbal style.[1]

We believe this brief, though not very systematic discussion of spelling variants is good enough at this stage to establish their grammatical as well as lexiclogical relevance.

1.4. Onomatopoetic Nouns: MSH has a large number of onomatopoetic elements which occur as nouns as well as verbs. In the section on verbs we have described them in detail, therefore they need not be retold here.

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[1] For distinction between nominal and verbal style see Rulon Wells, "Nominal and Verbal Style" in Thomas A. Sebeok (ed.) Style in Language (Cambridge, 1960).

1.5. Technical Terms: Systematic coining of technical terms on the basis of loan translations from English started as early as 1826 A.D. with the publication of the first MSH newspaper called उदन्त मार्तण्ड from Calcutta.[1] Ever since this process of loan translation has been going on with no end in sight. How many of the assimilated Sanskrit tatsamas first came into MSH as technical or semi-technical terms of some sort either by loan translation of English words or by borrowing from Sanskrit and later loat their identity has never been investigated.

Coining of technical terminology in MSH involves two distinct processes (a) delimitation of the meanings of words, and (b) formation of new terms. Entirely different considerations are involved in these two processes as far as the coining of technical terminology is concerned. But once these terms are available, and are put to use in MSH sentences, they present very similar problems. Below we shall discuss some of these problems concerning the technical usages of nouns in the category (a) only.

As a first example of these problems we can take the MSH nouns शक्ति , बल etc. According to Harimohan Krishna Saksena[2] the English nouns power and energy are usually rendered in MSH by the noun शक्ति . In physics another related term force is used. currently the noun बल is used in MSH in the sense of the term force. This kind of situation leads to confusion. Therefore, according to Saksena, it is necessary to delimit the technical usage of the MSH nouns. In his own words: इस प्रकार, 'पावर' power

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[1] See Vishwa Nath, Hindī Bhāsa Aura Sāhitya Para Angrezī Prabhāva ("The Influence of English on Hindi Language and Literature) Dehra Dun, 1963.

[2] Hari Mohan Krishna Saksena, Hindī mẽ vaijyānika śabdavalī kī samsvāẽ aur unka samadhāna, Rajata-Jayanti Grantha, Bombay Hindī Vidyāpītha, Bombay (1963), p. 89-93.

> के लिये शक्ति और 'फोर्स' force के लिये बल सीमित कर दिया गया और 'एनर्जी' energy के लिये तीसरा शब्द ऊर्जा खोजना पड़ा

Among these three nouns, i.e., शक्ति, बल, and ऊर्जा we shall concentrate here on the noun बल alone. A noun like बल which is an assimilated tatsama in MSH, is used in popular parlance in several meanings. A few sentences illustrating some of these meanings are given below.

"support" कन्नगी और कोवलन पांड्य महाराज और महारानी का बल पाकर नये सिरे से अपना सौभाग्य पा गए

( सुहाग, २६५ )

"strength" और इस आरोपित करने की प्रवृत्ति को बल मिला था उसके संघर्षमय जीवन से

( स० स० २१ )

| | |
|---|---|
| "strength" | मानाइहन चेट्टियार बराबर अपनी शुभ मन्त्रणाओं से अपने जामाता के कारबार को उसकी अनुपस्थिति में भी बल देते आ रहे थे ----<br>( सुहाग, १३१ ) |
| "energy, strenght" | पर मुझे रानी से मिलने की आशा ने बल दिया<br>( चारू, १७४ ) |
| "emphasis" | दीर्घकाल पर अत्यधिक बल देते हुए उन्होंने अर्थ व्यवस्था के कार्य कलापों का अध्ययन वस्तु विनिमय के संदर्भ में ही किया<br>( एमाइ, ३० ) |
| "energy" | मैं नहीं जानता कि किस दुवारि शक्ति ने मुझमें आकस्मिक बल दिया<br>( चारू, १६ ) |
| "force" | उसने बलपूर्वक उससे सब कुछ छीन लिया |

As the above sentences indicate the noun बल has the meaning "force" only when it occurs in the adverbial environment. It retains its original meaning in certain compound nouns बलवान्, बलशाली etc. Contrasted with the noun शक्ति, the noun बल means a "force implying a thrusting away". The noun शक्ति means "a power implying a drawing toward" besides having other semantic characteristics which do not come into contrast with the noun बल. To use the noun बल, therefore, as a technical term in physics as a substitute for the term force will create some misunderstanding. Observe the following sentences taken from a text in physics:

> यह क्रिया और प्रतिक्रिया का सिद्धान्त है। वह कहता है कि प्रत्येक दाब के लिए प्रतिकूल दिशा में भी दाब होता है प्रकृति में बल सदा द्वैत रूप में प्रकट होता है। गिरता हुआ पत्थर पृथिवी को उसी जोर से आकर्षित करता है जिससे कि पृथिवी पत्थर को
>
> (यांत्रिकी, ६)

The sense in which the term बल occurs in the above-noted sentences is understandable because the use of the term is explained by the context. But a sentence like the following cannot be easily understood in the sense it is intended by the translator of this book.[1]

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[1] Because of the occurrence of the verb लग- with the noun बल, this sentence can be misunderstood in the sense of जोर लग- also.

चतुर्थ नियम कहता है कि यदि एक संहति - बिदुं पर दो बल लग रहे हों - - - -

( यांत्रिकी, ७ )

Coining of technical terminology by delimiting the meanings of words currently in use in MSH is not a very simple matter, and does involve a deeper understanding of the grammatical as well as lexical features of nouns. When a decision is made that a noun will be a technical term denoting a particular concept in a given field, it is also necessary to anticipate the grammatical contexts of its occurrences in sentences.

A few sentences are given below where the noun प्रयोग "experiment, use" is intended in the sentences to mean "experiment" and as a technical term in literary criticism. In all these sentences, except the first, it is somewhat difficult to understand the author's intended meaning.

प्रयोग वादी कवियों की मूल दृष्टि काव्य के विषय तथा शिल्प के मुख्य रूप से शिल्प के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में प्रयोग की ओर रही है

( निबन्ध, ६६८ )

भाषा, ध्वनि तथा छन्द - विधान में उन्होंने नवीन प्रयोग किये हैं

( निबन्ध, ६७६ )

प्रभाकर माचवे ने नयी अलंकार - योजना, बिम्ब - विधान और उपमानों के नये प्रयोगों को अधिक महत्त्व दिया है

( निबन्ध, ६७६ )

The newly formed terms present even more difficult problems, a discussion of which will take us a little too far.

This brief discussion on the technical terminology in MSH has been given here to caution the student of MSH. While using some specialized technical and semitechnical text, or even the daily newspaper texts as teaching materials in the class room, we have found that the conflict between the popular and technical usages of nouns often leads to misunderstanding, even to a complete breakdown in communication.

## Synonymy of MSH Nouns.

1.1. In the present state of MSH grammar and lexicography, we believe it is quite appropriate to discuss problems like the synonmy of nouns in a grammar of the language.

Because of the presence of nouns belonging to the four different strata, there is a great deal of misunderstanding among the native scholars about the synonymy of nouns. In the last section, while discussing the nouns of Perso-Arabic origin, we pointed out Bahri's simple-minded proposal that good many such nouns can be easily replaced by their Hindi synonyms. Recently some dictionaries of MSH synonyms have been published.[1] Commenting upon such dictionaries P. A. Barannikov in his paper "Style Synonyms in Hindi"[2] comes to the conclusion that the nouns like पानी,जल "water" and so forth are nothing more than style synonyms. One can perhaps add to the list of types of synonyms two more varieties of synonyms, i.e., (a) spelling synonyms, and (b) gender synonyms. We discussed the spelling synonyms in the last section. The occurrence of the noun मरजाद in feminine and non-feminine genders, along with the differences in their meanings, as illustrated in the last section is an example of gender synonyms. We shall talk about the gender problem of nouns later on but discuss the meaning differences which can be established on the basis of occurrence of the same noun in two different genders will be discussed in this section.

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[1] See for instance Bhola Nath Tiwari, Brhat Paryāyavācī Kosa, Allahabad, 1954.

[2] Indian Linguistics, 22.64-81.

1.2. The dictionaries of MSH synonyms simply list nouns and other synonymous expressions without illustrating the contexts of their occurrence as well as without discussing the nature of synonymity of these groups of nouns and other such expressions. Lack of any discussion and the context of occurrence in the dictionaries of synonyms renders them as unusable. However they can be used as data sources in the sense that contain lists of groups of nouns which belong to semantic areas of those groups, and share certain features.

The features which these synonymous nouns belonging to a given semantic area share with each other can be understood as consisting of two layers (a) grammatical features, and (b) lexical features. For the purpose of illustrating the working of these two layers of features we shall discuss the nouns आवाज, स्वर, सुर, ध्वनि, धुन and आहट. All of these belong to the semantic area which can be labelled sound.

2.1. The lexical features of the semantic area of sound based on the occurrence of the above-noted nouns can be stated in terms of the feature rules as follows.[1]

[+sound] ---> [± vocal]
[+vocal] ---> [± musical]
[-vocal] ---> [±musical]
[+musical] ---> [± melody]

---

[1] These feature rules are based on data we have been able to gather, and are not intended to be a final statement. Also the label sound for the semantic area should be understood as a term which contrasts with non-sound. For instance the noun शोर, हल्ला etc. belongs to the semantic area of noise which is a nonsound semantic area.

[-melody] ----> [±pitch]

[-pitch, +vocal] ----> [± style]

[-musical, +vocal] ---> [±language]

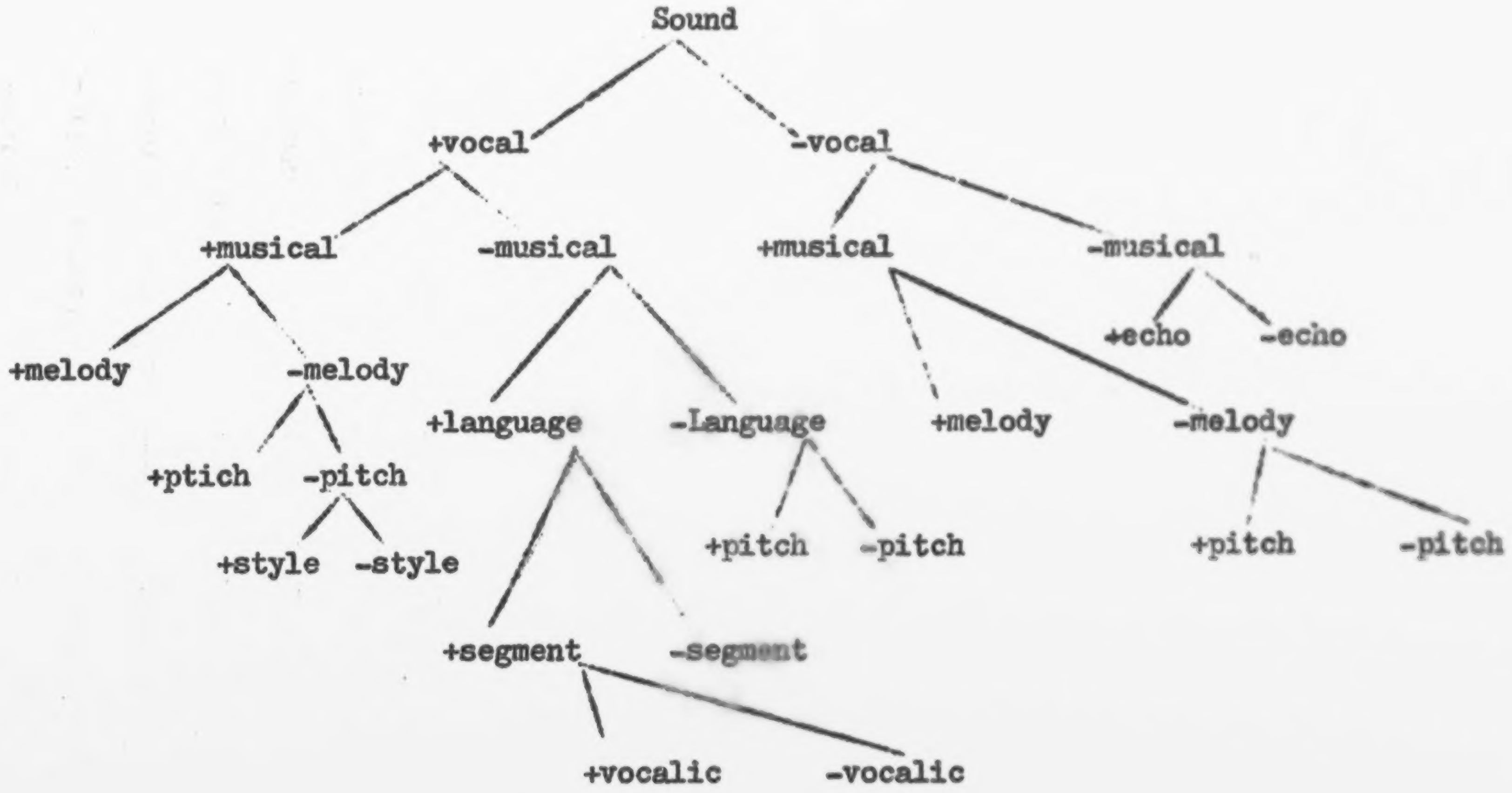
[+language] ----> [±segment]

[+segment] ----> [±vocalic]

[-language] ---> [±pitch]

[-musical, +[-vocal] ---> [±echo]

The diagram below represents the above-noted rules.


Sound
+vocal
-vocal
+musical
-musical
+musical
-musical
+melody
-melody
+echo
-echo
+ptich
-pitch
+style
-style
+language
-Language
+pitch
-pitch
+melody
-melody
+pitch
-pitch
+segment
-segment
+vocalic
-vocalic

2.2 Below we list all the nouns along with their definitions in terms of the above lexical semantic features along with examples illustrating their occurrences in MSH sentences.

आवाज़ +sound

बाहर घोर अन्धकार छाया था, कहीं से किसी तरह की आवाज़ नहीं आ रही है

लगता है, उसके चले जाने के बाद भी यह आवाज पीछे छूट गई थी —अपने में अलग और सम्पूर्ण ।

आवाज़ +sound, +vocal, +[-musical]

उदाहरणार्थ, बादल के गरजने की आवाज सुनकर वह चौंक उठता था और उसके मुख से एक विशेष प्रकार की आवाज निकलती थी जिससे कि वह दूसरों को यह संकेत करता था कि वह डर गया है

इसी प्रकार मुंह से विभिन्न प्रकार की आवाज़े निकाल कर वह अपने भावों को दूसरों तक पहुंचाने लगा

आवाज़ +sound, +vocal, +[-musical], +[-language]

उदाहरणार्थ, बादल के गरजने की आवाज सुनकर वह चौंक उठता था और उसके मुख से एक विशेष प्रकार की आवाज निकलती थी जिससे कि वह दूसरों को यह संकेत करता था कि वह डर गया है

इसी प्रकार मुंह से विभिन्न प्रकार की आवाज़ें निकालकर वह अपने भावों को दूसरों तक पहुंचाने लगा

उसकी आवाज़ में कोई भाव नहीं था

मुझे ऐसा लगा वह कुछ नहीं समझ रही है कि वह क्या कह रही है । उसकी आवाज में दूरी थी

आवाज - +sound, +vocal, +[-musical], +[-language], +[-pitch]

लड़की न थी कि मरी आवाज से पुकारता
वह गहरे प्यार की आवाज़ में धीरे-धीरे बोली
वह नफरत भरी आवाज में बोला

आवाज़ - +sound, +[-vocal], +[-musical], +[-echo]

चमड़ा सूख जाने पर उसपर चोट देने से आवाज निकलती है

गाड़ी ने सीटी दी । हिरामन को लगा, उसके अन्दर से कोई आवाज़ निकलकर सीटी के साथ ऊपर की ओर चली गई - कू - उ - उ । इस

किन्तु जंगल की खामोशी शायद कभी चुप नहीं रहती । गहरी नींद में डूबी सपनों की आवाजें नीरवता के हल्के झीने पर्दे पर सलवटे बिछा जाती है, मूक लहरों - सी हवा में तिरती हैं - - -

आवाज - +sound, +vocal

शहनाई की आवाज़ वायुमंडल में गूंज रही थी

शाम के समय अक्सर कमरों से वायलन या सक्सोफोन की आवाजें सुनाई देती थीं ।

आवाज़ - +sound, +vocal, +musical

जूतों की आवाज मेरे दरवाजे के सामने ठहर जाती थी - - -

लगता था, जैसे छतनी ऊपर आकर हर आवाज तीखी और चमकीली हो गई है - - - एक चाकू की धार की तरह ।

( वे दिन, ९१:-९३ )

आज का गायक इस सम्बन्ध में विशेष रूप से सचेत रहता है और कण्ठ - स्वर को उन्नत करने के लिये निरन्तर प्रयत्न करता रहता है

मैंने रिसीवर उठाया - - - एक भारी अपरिचित स्वर सुनाई दिया

स्वर - +sound, +vocal

इसी सिद्धान्त के आधार पर जब स्वर या आवाज़ में कुछ निश्चित समय के बाद जोर दिया गया तब संगीत या नृत्य के ताल की उत्पत्ति हुई

सुर का मुख्य आधार गाने वाले का स्वर या आवाज है —

स्वर - +sound, +vocal, +musical

दूसरे कमरे से उसका धीमा - सा स्वर आ रहा था - ल

लापरवाही में भरा हुआ - - - वह धीमे स्वर में गुनगुना रही थी +sound, +vocal, +musical, +[-melody], +pitch

स्वर के एक नियमित चढ़ाव - उतार से आनन्दप्रद या आकर्षक ध्वनि प्रस्तुत करना ही सुर की सृष्टि है ।

ध्वनि की वह विशिष्ट रचना जिसे स्वर और वर्ण ( गायन क्रिया ) द्वारा सौन्दर्य हुआ हो - - -

स्वर - +sound, +vocal, +[-musical], +language, +segment, +vocalic

स्वर - +sound, +vocal, +[-musical], +[-language], +pitch

गम्भीर स्वर में
तेज स्वर में
कठोर स्वर में
तीक्ष्ण स्वर में
खुशामद भरे स्वर में

वह धीमें दबे स्वर में बात चीत कर रहा था
मैंने गम्भीर स्वर में कहा
उसने हल्के व्यंग्य से कहा, किन्तु बहुत ही अनिश्चित् स्वर में

स्वर - +sound, +[-vocal], +musical
स्वर

हमेशा आधी रात को उसके कमरे से एकोर्डियन का स्वर सुनाई देता था

फिर लिफ्ट का घुरघुराता बोझिल स्वर
खटखट का समवेत स्वर
कुछ देर तक कमरे में पानी गिरने का स्वर सुनाई देता रहा ।

यदि उन्हें यह कहना है कि युद्ध रोक दो तो तु रही में वे एक विशेष स्वर को उत्पन्न करेंगे । उस स्वर को सुन कर सेना उसका आशय समझ जाती है ।

और दिसम्बर का नीला आलोक, जो उस दिन हमने मानेस्टरी की ऊंचाई से देखा था - - - नदी के बहते स्वर में घुलता

स्वर - +sound, +[-vocal], +musical, +[-melody], +pitch

हमेशा आधी रात को उसके कमरे से एकोर्डियन का स्वर सुनाई देता था

इस यंत्र में से तरह - तरह के स्वर निकलते हैं

एक ही ढोल के भिन्न - भिन्न भागों पर चोट देने से चार अलग - अलग तरह के स्वर निकलते हैं ।

सुर - +sound, +vocal, +musical, +melody

सुर के आधार पर ही संगीत श्रुति - मधुर होता है

इस सुर का मुख्य आधार गानेवाले का स्वर का आवाज है --

स्वर के एक नियमित चढ़ाव - उतार से आनन्द - प्रद या आकर्षक ध्वनि प्रस्तुत करना ही सुर की सृष्टि है

कण्ठ का यह सुर अभ्यास द्वारा उत्तमतर किया जा सकता है

गायक का कण्ठ जैसे ध्वनिया सुर की अभिव्यक्त करता है वैसे यंत्र भी सुर को प्रकट करने लगते है ।

सुर - +sound, +[-vocal], +musical, +melody

वाद्य - यंत्र स्वयं ही सुर की सृष्टि करते हैं

एक छोटी सी मौत जो आने वाले सुरों की अपनी बची - खुची गूंजों की सासे समर्पित कर जाती है, जो मर जाती है, किन्तु मिट नहीं पाती, मिटती नहीं, इस लिए मर कर भी जीवित है, दूसरे सुरों में लय हो जाती है ।

ध्वनि - +sound, +vocal, +musical, +[-melody]

एक धार्मिक अनुष्ठान में व्यक्ति के मुख से जिस प्रकार की ध्वनि निकलेगी उस प्रकार की ध्वनि सामाजिक उत्सव में नहीं निकल सकती और जिस प्रकार की ध्वनि इस सामाजिक उत्सव में निकलेगी उस प्रकार की ध्वनि प्रेमिका के वियोग में कभी नहीं निकलेगी

एक परिस्थिति विशेष में एक विशिष्ट प्रकार का वेग मन में उत्पन्न होता है जिसके फल स्वरूप व्यक्ति के मुंह से एक विशेष प्रकार की ध्वनि निकलती है

ध्वनि - +sound, +vocal, +musical, +[-melody], +[-pitch]

रोने में एक प्रकार की स्वाभाविक ध्वनि निकलती है । यह एक इस प्रकार की ध्वनि होती है जो कि सहज ही दूसरे को अपनी ओर आकर्षित कर लेती है

ध्वनि - +sound, +vocal, +musical, +[-melody], +[-pitch], +style

ईषत् स्पष्ट ध्वनि में दूर से गान सुनाई दिया

ध्वनि - +sound, +vocal, +[-musical], +language

अफ्रीका की कुछ जन - जातियां ढोल से ऐसी ध्वनि निकालती हैं जो कण्ठ की ध्वनि का अनुकरण करती हैं

ध्वनि - +sound, +[-vocal], +musical, +[-melody], +[-pitch]

बादल गरजने से होने वाली ध्वनि -

गान स्माप्त होते ही बाजों के साथ नूपुर के क्वणन की ध्वनि सुनाई पड़ी ।

धुन - +sound, +vocal, +musical, +[-melody], +[-pitch], +style

उसके कमरे में करीमुद्दीन कोई पहाड़ी धुन गुनगुनाता हुआ लैम्प में गैस पम्प कर रहा था

वह - - - माउथ आर्गन पर कोई पुरानी फिल्मी धुन बजा रहा था ।

करीमुद्दीन ने अपने माउथ आर्गन पर एक नई फिल्मी धुन छेड़ दी

आहट - +sound, +[-vocal], +[-musical], +echo

आहट - उसको जैसे किसी अदृश्य गन्ध की आहट मिल गई अपने
अपने पैरों की आहट मी पराई लगती थी

सर सराहट - सरसर की आवाज,
सूखी लकड़ियों की भर भराती सी आवाज

शब्द - +sound, +vocal, +[-musical], +language, +[-segment]

3.1. Another layer of features is superimposed on those features listed above. For instance the occurrence of the noun आवाज in various environments in the sentence structure of MSH does not indiscriminately apply to all the possible definitions in terms of lexical features. If we consider the +sound, +vocal occurrences of the noun आवाज we can systematically plot the correlation between the lexical features and the superimposed grammatical features. Below we discuss these +sound, +vocal occurrences of the noun आवाज .

3.2. The noun आवाज , when it is +sound, +vocal, +[-musical], occurs as the subject or the object in sentences. All such sentences contain an explicit reference to the speaker. Observe its occurrence as an activity noun (see section on action noun phrase for description of activity nouns in MSH) in the action noun phrases listed below along with their verbalizer verbs. The manner in which the noun आवाज picks up the grammatical features of the environments can be deduced from its meanings indicated along with the action noun phrases.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| N | के विरुद्ध आवाज उठा - | "objection" |
| N | पर आवज उठा - | "concern" |
| N | पर आवाज कस | "remark" |
| N | के कान में आवाज़ पड़ | "something overheard" |
| N | के कान में आवाज़ डाल - | "suggestion" |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| N | को आवाज दे - | "call" |
| N | को आवाज लगा - | "summon" |
| N | को आवाज लग - | "summon" |
| N | की आवाज बैठ - | "hoarse voice" |
| N | की आवाज खुल - | "clear voice |
| N | की आवाज मर - | "low voice" |
| N | की आवाज भर्रा - | "whizzing voice" |
| N | की आवाज कांप - | "quavering voice" |
| N | की आवाज फट - | "rough voice" |
| N | आवाज उखड़ - | "faltering voice" |
| N | की आवाज सहम - | "frightened voice" |
| N | आवाज मंज - | "deep voice" |
| N | की आवाज भांप - | "undertone" |

Various dictionary definitions of the noun आवाज , when it occurs as an activity noun are dependent upon the grammatical features +direction (i.e., against, on at in or to) and -direction. When it is +direction, it indicates a purposeful speech activity. When -direction it indicates either the physical and the mental states of the speaker without any reference to the hearer or emphasizes the hearer's point of view about the speaker.

3.3. The noun आवाज , when it is +sound, +vocal, +[-musical], +[-language] contrasts with the noun ध्वनि which is +sound, +vocal, +[-musical], and +language. Thus the only difference between आवाज and ध्वनि is that the former is -language and the latter +language. Both the nouns have communicative relevance, the only difference being that ध्वनि is a speech sound, and आवाज is a non-speech sound. The examples given above indicate this difference clearly. The noun आवाज in its sense as non-speech sound made by human beings generally occurs as the subject or the object of verbs like निकल -, निकाल , etc. or in postpositional phrases like आवाज में दूरी, आवाज में भाव (as illustrated above) and is preceded by adjectival phrases indicating quality or kind of sounds articulated.

3.4. The occurrence of आवाज with the lexical semantic features +sound, +vocal, +[-musical], +[-language], and +[-pitch] is almost exclusively limited to adverbial environment along with the verbs like बोल - , कह - etc. denoting speech activity. In this environment it contrasts with the noun स्वर . The difference between स्वर and आवाज indicated in the lexical feature rules in terms of +pitch and -pitch refers to the degree of effect the speaker's utterance has on the audience, etc.

Both the nouns स्वर and आवाज do take the plural suffix in the adverbial environment.

3.5. आवाज as +sound contrasts with स्वर (which is +sound, +vocal) on one hand and nouns like नाद, ध्वनि etc. on the other. The noun has no religious and philosophical overtones. The noun ध्वनि implies suggestion. The noun स्वर is narrower in meaning than आवाज because it is not +[-vocal] and +[-musical]. Observe the occurrence of आवाज and स्वर in the following sentences.

अश्रु के स्वर मानो उसका गीत बन गये ।
उसका गीत मानों उसकी आवाज बनगया और उसकी आवाज
मानो उसकी पुकार बन गयी

( अश्रु, १३६ )

The noun आवाज when it is +sound only, and thus least marked, does not take the plural, and occurs generally as the subject of a few intransitive verbs. In this usage it denotes a unique, indivisible stretch of sound without any implication about its source. It has no philosophical, religious or intellectual overtones.

3.6. We will now point out some of the implications of the above-noted discussion.

A discussion about the lexical semantic features of some nouns belonging to the semantic area called sound demonstrates that by the term synonymy is probably meant the similarity in the meaning of nouns (or other parts of speech) as it can be seen in terms of the dictionary definitions of these nouns. On the other hand, the term polysymy is used to indicate the fact that a noun can have more than one dictionary definition. We believe this interplay between synonymy and polysymy of nouns can be better understood in terms of the lexical semantic features of nouns and the grammatical features of these nouns.

The crucial term which enables us to systematically analyze these two sets of features is the concept of semantic area (also called semantic field). Thus the nouns which share some of the features of a semantic area are synonymous nouns.

The various senses in which a noun is used in sentences are based on the selectional constraints imposed by the grammatical environments on its lexical features. This situation gives rise to a kind of polysemy.

The stratification of nouns in MSH as outlined earlier, when systematically analyzed in terms of the ideas developed in this section will reveal the degree of assimilation of borrowed nouns. For instance the tatsama nouns: they came into the language in its earlier stages, as far as MSH is concerned, in a manner essentially not different from the modern technical terms as regards the sense in which they were borrowed.

3.7. Now we shall discuss the differences in the meanings of some typical synonynous nouns which are listed in MSH dictionaries indiscriminately; while doing this we will try to include nouns included in all the strata discussed earlier. Full sentences will be cited to illustrate only those nouns which are somewhat more problematic. In other situations, only the pertinent parts of sentences will be given.

(a) Tatsama pairs like सुकरता . सौन्दर्य, मधुरता माधुर्य , स्थिरता स्थैर्य, as well as pairs like गुरुता गुरुत्व, महत्ता महत्त्व – , are often listed indiscriminately in dictionaries. In these pairs the nouns ending in – ता are semantically distinct from their counterparts ending in त्व or in य . Their distinguishing features are as follows.

| Nouns ending in – ता | Nouns ending in त्व or य |
|---|---|
| 1. +intrinsic quality | +abstract attribute |
| 2. +expressive | +impressive |

In other words, the – ता nouns "impute a quality to the object to which they apply", and their other counterparts suggest the effect of the object having these abstract qualities upon others.

योगी ने नर्तकी में ज्ञान देख, और नर्तकी ने योगी में सौन्दर्य

३४

(b) Perso-Arabic and tatsama nouns like the following listed by Bahri as synonyms are quite distinct in their meanings. Observe the following examples.

मान = आबरू

N का मान कर N की आबरू ले -

N को मान दे N की आबरू बिगाड़ -

*N का मान ले *N की आबरू कर -

*N का मान बिगाड़ *N की आबरू दे -

रोग = बीमारी

N को रोग हो जा - N को बीमारी पड़ -

*N को रोग पड़ -

श्वांस = दम

N का श्वांस फूल -

N का दम फूल - N का दम टूट -

*N का श्वांस टूट -

वायु = हवा

*N की वायु उड़ - N की हवा उड़ -

Additional examples for section 3.7.(a)

यशोधरा को देख कर चित्रलेखा चकित हो गयी। उसे आज तक अपनी सुन्दरता पर गर्व था और आत्मविश्वास था

( चित्रलेखा, ७७ )

बीज गुप्त वैभव तथा शक्ति के उस जमघट में से शान्ति और त्याग की गुरुता के साथ निकल गया

( चित्रलेखा, १८५ )

चित्रलेखा के मृदुल गम्भीर स्वर में आज्ञा देने वाली स्वामिनी का गुरुत्व था

( चित्रलेखा, ५५ )

अशु के मुख पर विश्वास जन्य स्थिरता आगई और फिर किसी स्थैर्य से बोली, कोई भी भावना जो वश के बाहर हो जाती है, अपने सुर से हट जाती है, चाहे वह प्रेम की भावना हो, चाहे घृणा की

( अशु )

शून्य की महत्ता की दुहाई देनेवाले योगी

( चित्रलेखा, ३३ )

दोनों ही इस बात चीत के गूढ़ महत्व को समझ रहे थे

( चित्रलेखा, ८७ )

---- जब वे संयम का आचरण करते रहते हैं तो उनका गांभीर्य समुद्र के समान दुरधिगम्य हो जाता है

( बाण, १६६ )

चित्रलेखा ने बीजगुप्त के मुख की ओर देखा, उस पर दृढ़ता थी और गम्भीरता थी, क्रोध की छाप थी और स्वामीत्व की गुरूता थी

( चित्रलेखा, ७० )

इच्छा = नीयत

N की इच्छा कर - N की नीयत बिगड़ -

*N की इच्छा बिगड़

चिन्ता = फिक्र

N की चिन्ता कर - N की फिक्र कर

*N की चिन्ता रख - N की फिक्र रख -

Almost all the synonymous pairs of nouns listed by Bahri in Appendix C of his book *Persian Influence in Hindi* are distinct in meaning.

(c) *Tatsama-tadbhava* pairs like the following are also distinct in meanings.

लज्जा = लाज

N को लज्जा आ - N को लाज आ - (usually occurs with negation)

*N की लज्जा रख - *N की लाज रख -

क्षेत्र = खेत

विज्ञान का क्षेत्र = किसान का खेत

परीक्षा = परख

N की परीक्षा ले *N की परख ले -

N की परीक्षा रख - *N की परख रख -

Similarly one can go on listing the pairs like गृह घर, निद्रा नींद, भिक्षा भीख, ग्राम घर, जाति जात etc. They are all distinct in meaning in MSH.

(d) Quite a few nouns occur in feminine as well as non-feminine genders, and are distinct in meaning. We shall discuss these gender synonyms in the section of gender of nouns. Therefore only a few such nouns are listed below with an indication of their meaning differences.

| | |
|---|---|
| आसन | (fem.), +seat, +posture<br>(non-fem.), +seat, ±posture |
| पठार | (fem.), +plateau, +locality<br>(non-fem.), +plateau, +region |
| सोच | (fem.), +worry, +momentary<br>(non-fem.), +worry, ±momentary |

(e) There are some pairs like मुंह : मुख, पांव : पैर and टांग : लात etc. According to some scholars such nouns are used in MSH in a manner that no overall patterns are discernible about the semantic distinction if any.

A preliminary investigation made by us about the occurrence of these nouns in Prem Chand's Godana reveals that he uses these nouns in distinct meanings. We list the lexical semantic features of these nouns on the basis of Prem Chand's usages.

| | |
|---|---|
| मुंह | +face, +human |
| | +mouth, ±human |
| मुख - | +face, +mouth, +human, +countenance |
| पांव - | +foot, +body part, +human, +motion |
| पैर | +foot, +body part, +human, -motion<br>-human, +motion |
| टांग - | +leg, ±human, +body part from hips to feet, +leg, -animate |
| लात - | +leg, +human, +body part from knees to feet. |

The above feature specification is not complete. Only a few pertinent features are mentioned here.

## Gender

1.1. A number of discussions have recently appeared about the gender of nouns in MSH.[1] All these studies invariably take the view that the gender is central to the category of nouns in MSH. With this notion in mind, which is very basic and fundamental to these scholars, they set out to classify all the nouns in terms of the masculine and feminine categories, and various subgroupings among these two categories.

Among the three papers cited below in the footnote Amba Prasad Sumana and S. M. Dimshits are primarily interested in establishing criteria on the basis of which some sort of regularities concerning the gender of nouns can be established in grammatical terms. According to Amba Prasad Sumana, the recognition of gender of abstract nouns and inanimate nouns is an extremely difficult problem. After discussing a few examples of nouns which are used in both the genders he remarks that a decision about the gender of nouns can be made on the basis of some semantic features of these nouns. Those semantic features, in his own words, are as follows:

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[1] The notable among these are: Babu Ram Saksana, *Hindī mẽ Linga-Bheda ke dvārā Sukṣama Artha-Bheda kā Dystava*, Hindi Anushīlana, 13. 151-54, Allahabad, 1960; S. M. Dimshits, *Hindī Bhāṣa mẽ Linga-Bheda ki Samasyā*, Nagari Pracharini Patrika, 66.98-107, Kashi, 1962; Amba Prasad Sumana, *Hindī Bhāṣā mẽ Linga Vidhāna*, Rajat Jayanti Grantha, Bombay Hindi Vidyapith, 70-75, Bombay, 1963.

> लिंग - निर्णय में सामान्य तत्त्व यह है कि जिन शब्दों के अर्थों में ओज, बल, कठोरता, उग्रता, विशालता आदि भावों की अनुभूति होती, वे पुल्लिंग माने जाते हैं और जिनके अर्थों में कोमलता, सुन्दरता, लघुता आदि भावों का आभास मिलता है, वे स्त्रीलिंग माने जाते हैं ।

At the end of his paper he goes on to say that rules without exceptions cannot be formulated about the gender of nouns in MSH. Only a few suggestions can be made. If these suggestions are followed, the author thinks some kind of simplicity about the gender problem will be introduced in the language. It will not be entirely out of place to give an example or two of his suggestions here.

His first suggestion concerns the rules about the gender in general. He says if a rule has too may exceptions it should not be considered as a rule. In his second suggestion he proposes that words like दही, पवन, बर्फ etc., which are used in masculine as well as in feminine genders should be interpreted for the sake of simplicity as having the masculine gender only because it is the nature of MSH that the choice of masculine gender prevails over the feminine. E.g., in the sentence लड़का और लड़की आये the gender of the verb is governed by the noun लड़का alone.

Dimshits' paper deals with the problem of gender in somewhat greater detail. He makes some interesting observations about the category of gender. He regards the gender as a special characteristic of nouns, and rightly observes that the gender of nouns is indicated primarily in sentences.

The latter part of his paper deals with the classifications of nouns according to regularities which can be established on the basis of their meanings, derivation suffixes. He has a separate section on the gender distinction of human and non-human nouns. He also discusses very briefly the irregularities of genders as well as the genders of some nouns MSH has borrowed from Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic and English. In the end he concludes that the problem of gender-distinction in Hindi is quite complicated. More investigation is necessary for its solution, especially about the fixing of gender of borrowed nouns.

Babu Ram Saksena's paper is concerned with the gender distinction of nouns which also involve differences in their meaning. According to him there are some words like कुलफा (masc.) "a green leafy vegetable" and कुलफी (fem.) "an Indian version of ice cream" which along with the difference within gender also involve difference in meaning. But such pairs of words are etymologically distinct. Another class of pairs recognized by him concerns nouns like गवाह (masc.) "witness (i.e., the person who takes the witness stand)" and गवाही (fem.) "witness (the act of giving witness)". These are related pairs of words in which one word is derived from the other, and thus the difference in the gender of the primary and the secondary words has nothing to do with the difference in their meaning.

The third class of nouns consists of pairs in which both the members have their primary meaning intact but due to difference in their gender the derived nouns have developed a secondary meaning. An example of such a pair is अंगा (masc.) and अंगिया (fem.). Both are wearing apparels; the former is bigger in size, the latter smaller. But the important difference is that अंगा is used by men अंगिया by women.

1.2. It is necessary at this point to make some observations about the approaches of those three scholars.

(a) They all consider the category of gender as inherent in the nouns, and at the same time conclude that the formulation of any rules about the gender is extremely difficult.

(b) For the prediction of the gender of nouns they use two kinds of criteria: (1) based on the forms of nouns and (2) based on the meaning of nouns.

(c) With the exception of Dimshits, they do not notice that the indication of gender of nouns is more of a syntactic necessity rather than anything else. We shall discuss the nature of this syntactic necessity below.

(d) They all contribute to the view that the gender distinction gives rise to meaning differences independently of the syntactic environments of these nouns.

(e) None of these scholars has ever investigated thoroughly the cases where a switch from one gender to another is involved. Almost all scholars have taken the standard conservative point of view and considered these switches of gender as mistakes of some kind.

In the mext section we shall discuss some of these problems, trying to see if the validity of the traditional view outlined above can be established in any sense.

2.1. First of all it is necessary to examine the cases of switching of gender, i.e., the usage of nouns in genders other than what they are supposed to be. It should be noted here that the terms switching of gender or usages involving deviation of gender are generally applied to nouns which do not have any derivational endings. There are some exceptions to this generalization; e.g., the noun सामर्थ्य which occurs in MSH in masculine as well as feminine. On the analogy of other nouns like सुन्दरता (fem.) सौन्दर्य (masc.) सामर्थ्य should also be used in the masculine gender. Though the nouns like सुन्दरता and सौन्दर्य are both derived from the adjective सुन्दर , only the former is felt as analyzable in MSH. In other words as far as MSH is concerned सौन्दर्य and सामर्थ्य are tatsama borrowings and treated in the language as unanalyzable words. Therefore the switching of gender of सामर्थ्य , which lacks its counterpart (i.e., समर्थता , though असमर्थता the antonym of सामर्थ्य does occur), does not constitute an exception to our observation.

2.2. On the basis of existing documentary evidence available, one can say that such deviant usages of gender of nouns have been censored by various scholars with very little result. If we start, say with Mahāvīra Prasāda Dvivedī, the well-known editor of the periodical *Sarasvatī*, we notice that he corrected the so-called gender mistakes of other writers while editing their manuscripts for publication. On the other hand, he himself made such gender mistakes in his own writings. A few examples are given below for both kinds of gender usages.[1]

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[1] These examples are taken from Udaya Bhānu Sinha, Mahāvīra Prasāda Dvivedi Aur Unka Yuga, Luckume, Samvat 2008 Vikramīya.

Examples of gender correction made by Dvivedi:

| Original usage | Corrected usage |
|---|---|
| की सामर्थ्य | का सामर्थ्य |
| की लालच | का लालच |
| मीठी सुरों | मीठे सुरों |
| धूल नहीं उड़ता | धूल नहीं उड़ती |
| चर्चा था | चर्चा थी |
| अहल्या का पाषाण देह | अहल्या की पाषाण देह |

Examples of deviation in gender usages of Dvivedi (a) use of nouns in masculine gender instead of in the feminine:

हमारा विनय

के धातुओं

हमारा मृत्यु

तेरा पराजय

के शोकाग्नि

के बूंद

के किरण

खोज

समझ

(b) use of nouns in the feminine gender instead of in the masculine:

पांडित्य

सौरभ

सूर्यातप

द्रव्य

राज्य

पुण्य

सादृश्य

लावण्य

काव्य

माधुर्य

From the examples given by Udaya Bhānu Sinha, it is obvious that Mahā Vīra Prasāda Dvivedī himself made almost the same kinds of gender mistakes (if they are mistakes at all) which he corrected in the manuscripts of other authors. Further the nouns whose gender he changed in the edited manuscripts are probably still being used in MSH either in the deviant gender or in both the genders. Whereas one cannot say the same thing about Dvivedi's own usages though some of his deviant gender usages are still common.

The occurrence of nouns in deviant genders has really never stopped in MSH writings. Below we give sentences illustrating the occurrences of a few nouns like कम्पन, जेब, मैल, ससुराल,
तमाखू, हलचल, आसन, लालच, मचान, आहट,
थप्पड़, जलवायु, पवन, सन्तान, पठार, हाट,
दम, मरजाद, सोच, देख - भाल, सांस, गर्जन,
पलंग, शिकार, रास्ता, सींग, बैठक,
करतूत, तरस, घूंट, प्रत्यय, झूठ, झूलन,
बांध, हुंकार, मोड़, छड़, वायु, कलम, घुन्ध,
बेगार, देह, पुलक, मजाल, गठन, झंझट, काट,
झाग, भोर, चैन and दोपहर

in masculine as well as feminine genders. These sentences constitute just a few examples of deviant gender usages out of many at random.

उसकी देह की कम्पन मेरे कोट को छीलती हुई नंगे बदन को टटोलने लगी

( वे दिन, १३३ )

अपने ध्यान में मग्न सरपंच अपने पुत्र के कण्ठ का कम्पन नहीं भांप सके

( आखिरी आवाज, ५३ )

इतनी कम्पनियों के डाइरेक्टर, लाखों की आमदनी और आपके जेब में पांच रुपये

( गोदान, ६३ )

वह मेरे कोट की हर जेब का दायित्व जानता था

( वे दिन, २९ . )

सौन्दर्य तो आपके हाथों का मैल है

( पनघट, २८ )

वह रुपये - पैसे को तो हाथ - पैर की मैल समझता है

( मानक, ४१८ )

मेरे ससुराल में एक महरिया है

( गोदान, ९ )

जिस महल्ले में मेरी ससुराल थी - - -

( गोदान, ४९ )

दौड़कर एक पैसे का तमाखू सहुआइन की दुकान से ले ले

( गोदान, २१ )

रूपिया, देख डब्बे में तमाखू है कि नहीं, गोबर के मारे काहे बची होगी

( गोदान, २१ )

उसके पास ही हलचल सी हुई

( बाण भट्ट, ११६ )

ऐसे असाधारण काण्ड पर गांव में जो कुछ हलचल मचना चाहिए था वह मचा और महीनें तक मचता रहा

( गोदान, १२३ )

चौधरी ने होरी का आसन पाकर चावुक जमाया

( गोदान, २६ )

भर - भर कर सांस लेनी पड़ती है और बार बार आसन बदलनी पड़ती है

( दबे पांव, १ )

इस लिये उसको देखते रहने की लालच उमड़ी

( दबे पांव, २, )

- - - पेट भरने के ही लालच से - - -

( पीपल की परी, १०७ )

मैंने टाइम - टेबुल को झोंका पाकर समधी साहब के बहीखाते वाली मचान पर धीरे से फेंक दिया

( पीपल की परी, १०६ )

कभी कभी मचान जरा सा चरमरा गया
(दबे पाँव, 59)

रखवाले की झंझट का आहट लेता है और फिर विनाशधारी क्रिया को जारी करता है

( दबे पांव, १. )

घाट पर किसी के उतरते आने की आहट मिली, परन्तु वह मेरी झपकी में हल हो गई

( दबे पांव, १ )

थप्पड़ कभी चाटे की बराबरी या चाटे के सदृश अर्थवाची नहीं हो सकता

(भोलानाथ, १२)

घायल शेर जागीरदार पर टूट पड़ा । उसने अपनी थप्पड़ से उनका कन्धा फाड़ दिया

( दबे पांव, २,६८ )

जिस ग्रामीण समुदाय की जलवायु जितनी उत्तम होगी - - -

( ग्रामीण समाज शास्त्र२६)

एकान्त स्थान और जलवायु अच्छा

( दबे पांव , २, २४ )

मानसून पवनें बड़े पैमाने पर जलीय व स्थलीय पवनें तो दैनिक-क्रम से चलती हैं

( भारत की भौगोलिक समीक्षा, ४६ )

बैलों ने शेर को नहीं देखा था, और पश्चिम का पवन होने के कारण उन्होंने शेर की गन्ध भी नहीं पाई थी

( दबे पांव, २, ५६ )

दो कुलों का वैभव मिलकर कोवलन और कन्नगी के भावी सन्तानों को सम्पूर्ण भारत में अद्वितीय गौरव दिला दे गा

( सुहाग के नूपुर, १४ )

ये पाण्डवों की सन्तान बताये जाते हैं

( राजस्थान के राजपूत, ३३ )

छोटा नागपुर का पठार भारत का प्रमुख खनिज प्रदेश है

( भारत की भौगोलिक समीक्षा, २ )

सागर जिले की सीमा पर नारहट गांव है और गांव के पीछे ऊंची पठार और घना जंगल

( दबे पांव, १,८४ )

वहां हो कर उस पार से चिर गांव की हाट के लिये आने जाने वाले लोग निकला करते हे

( दबे पांव, १२३ )

- - - उसका जो विरोध हुआ था वह भी रूप के हाट में किसी से छिपा नहीं ।

( सुहाग के नूपुर, ११ )

जब दम बिल्कुल सध गई, मैं धीरे से उठा

हैली के मारे नाकों दम आगया (प्लेयॉन, 51) ( दबे पांव, ३६ )

ऐसा कपूत निकला कि घर की सारी मरजाद बिगाड़ दी

( गोदान, १२३ . )

वैसा ही मरजाद तो सबका है

( गोदान, २३ . )

पगली, यह कौनसा बड़ा सोच है

( सुहाग के नूपुर, २१२ )

मोटे वह होते हैं, जिन्हें न दिन की सोच होती है

( गोदान, ३५६ )

कुछ देख - भाल तो कर लिया होता कि किस स्वभाव की है, किस रंग ढंग की है

( गोदान, २६४ )

मैं गढ़ के प्रबन्ध की देख - भाल करने जाता हूं

( कचनार, ३२४ )

आज बब्बु का हर सांस घड़ी की टिक - टिक के साथ मिला हुआ था --- और ज्यों - ज्यों सांस तेज होता जाता था - - -

मैंने शान्ति की साँस ली (बाण भट्ट, 24) ( बब्बु, १४२ )

एक बार ऐसे ही एक गर्जन को सुनकर मैं बन्दूक लेकर दौड़ा

( दबे पांव, १,६६ )

गर्जन लगभग आध मील दूर से आ रही थी

( दबे पांव,१,६६ )

तुम्हारी पलंग तो इस रोशनी से बची है

( प्रतिध्वनि, ६० )

लतिका धीरे - धीरे दबे पांव जूली के पलंग के पास चली गई

( पांच लम्बी कहा० १२७ )

हिरन की शिकार काफी श्रम और सावधानी चाहती है

इनके हाँके का शिकार बहुत संकटमय है (प्रेमचंद, २०) ( दबे पांव, १,१६ )

जब दावत समाप्त हो गई, आंतें कुलकुला उठीं । मैंने बहाना लेकर बाजार की रास्ता पकड़ी और एक दूकान पर जाकर अपनी बुन्देल खण्डी पेट को डाट कर भरा

( दबे पांव, २,५२ )

मुझा रास्ता कोई नहीं दिखाता

( गोदान, २४,१५ )

इन्हीं दुलकों में रास्ता कट गया

( गोदान, २४,२६ )

- - - कि मोती ने बगल से आकर सींग भोंक दी

( प्रेमचन्द, १० )

- - - हीरा ने दूसरे पहलू में सींग चुभा दिया

( प्रेमचन्द, १० )

अपने बैठक में सिर में पट्टी बांधे पड़ा था

( गोदान, ३६ )

रात को महंत के डेरे में प्रवचन के लिये बैठक नहीं होनी थी., - -

( कचनार, २८४ )

मैंने कहा - कहो तो कल की तुम्हारी करतूत कह दूं

( गोदान, ३६ )

भोला ने अपने बेटों के करतूत सुनाये - - -

( गोदान, २३ )

शायद आपको मुझ पर तरस आ रहा है

( अब्बू, ६ )

मुझे उसकी मासूम सूरत और नटों - जैसी कवायद पर तरस आ रही थी ।

( सह्याद्रि, १५ )

अब्बू ने चाय का एक घूंट भरा

( अब्बू, ६८ )

चाय की आखिरी घूंट पीते पीते वह तानपुरे के पहले तार को

( अब्बू, ७० )

हिन्दी में कुछ प्रत्ययें ऐसी हैं - - -

( रचना - जयन्ती ग्रन्थ, ७३ )

इनमें शानच् ( मान ) प्रत्यय है जो वर्तमान् कालिक कृदन्त की प्रकट करती है

( हिन्दी भाषा, ४८ )

मतुप् तो तद्धित का प्रत्यय है

( हिन्दी भाषा, ४८ )

परिणाम यह है कि हमें आखिर अपनी सदा सहायक झूठ का ही सहारा लेना पड़ता है

( मैंने कहा ,११ )

मुझे अपने झूठ पर बुरा नहीं लगा

( वे दिन, ७८ )

और जहाज की झूलन से एक गतिपालक चक्र द्वारा बचायी जा सकती थी

( यांत्रिकी, २०५ )

आवश्यक तीन स्वतंत्रता संख्याएं जहाज के झूलनों, पिंजरे के दोलनों और गतिपालक चक्र के घूर्णनों से प्राप्त होती है

( यांत्रिकी, २०६ )

खून ने जोश मारा और अलगौझे की ऊंची बांध को तोड़ता हुआ, सब कुछ अपने अन्दर समेटने के लिये बाहर निकल पड़ा

( गोदान, ३०    )

- - उत्तरी गोलार्द्ध में नदियों के दायें किनारे पर का दाब अपने तईं दायें किनारों के बांधों को अधिकतर काट में दिखलाता है

( यांत्रिकी, २२१ )

अन्तत: एक दीर्घ निश्वास के साथ उसके मुख से एक गम्भीर हुंकार फूट निकली

( दत्तक पुत्री, १२२ )

महारानी सावित्री बाई का हुंकार सुनकर हांफते बाकन बीस ने संतुष्ट आंखों से उसकी ओर देखा

( सह्याद्रि, ८० )

बस हल्के - हल्के मोड़ काटती हुई कुल्लू की तरफ बढ़ने लगी

( पांच ल० कहा० , १२६ )

उसके नाखूनों की मोड़ में मारे हुए जानवर के मास के परमाणु चिपटे रहते हैं

( दबे पांव, १, ७१ )

उसे ऐसा मालूम हुआ मानो उसके हाथों पर जलते हुए लोहों के छड़ पहना दिये गये हों

( चित्रलेखा, १३६ )

मौलवी साहब ने पीतल की छड़ निकाली जिसके एक सिरे पर पंखा बना था

( पीतल की परी, ४५ )

पश्चिम मरुभूमि की तप्त वायु त्रिलोक की समूची आर्द्रता को सोख रही है

( बाण भट्ट, १६५ )

दूर से ढोकर सिक्त भीनी वायु मेरे चित्त को परितृप्त कर रहा था ।

( बाण भट्ट, १०२ )

इसलिये प्रदोष ही में उनके स्वप्न की शुक्तियां सौंपी गईं

( संग्रह, १०६ )

मेरी कलम में शक्ति है

( स०स० १६६ )

खिड़की के पार धुन्ध उड़ रही थी

( वे दिन, २०१ )

आकाश में धुन्ध छाया हुआ था

( गोदान, १५५ )

प्राण के बिना जैसे देह नहीं रह सकता, उसी तरह प्राण को भी देह ही सबसे उपयुक्त स्थान है

( गोदान, १६८ )

सारी देह दुख गयी थी - - -

( गोदान, ५ )

- - - न जाने क्यों मन में एक विशेष तरह के पुलक का अनुभव होता

( काली चट्टान क, २२ )

मैंने आपकी दो चार कविताएं पढ़ी हैं और उनमें कितनी पुलक, कितना कम्पन, कितनी मधुर व्यथा, कितना उन्माद पाया है, वह मैं ही जानता हूं

( गोदान, १६५ )

- - - तुमको मुन्निया से बोलने का कोई मजाल नहीं है - - -

(गोदान, १३२ )

- - तुमको हमारे बीच में बोलने का कुछ मजाल नहीं है

( गोदान, ७० )

वह सवा सौ की थैली लेकर घर आये तो किसकी मजाल है, जो उसके सामने मुंह खोल सके

( गोदान, १३१ )

सोना उम्र से किशोरी, देह के गठन में युवती और बुद्धि से बालिका थी

( गोदान, ३५ )

कितनी सुन्दर गठन थी - - -

( गोदान, ६५. )

बिरादरी का झंझट जो है

( गोदान , ३५ )

- - - इस लिये ट्राम की झंझट नहीं उठानी पड़ी

( वे दिन, ५२ . )

मालती ने तो आज के लिये नये फैशन की साड़ी निकाली थी, नये काट के जम्पर बनवाये थे - - -

( गोदान, १५७ )

नई काट की कमीज या कुर्ता

( मानक कोश, ५७२ )

बियर की झाग दाढ़ी पर छितर आई थी

( जलती झाड़ी, ११२ )

मैं बियर पीने लगा । उसके झाग मिट चले थे —सिर्फ कुछ सफेद धब्बे गिलास की दीवारों पर जमें रह गये थे

( वे दिन, ५० )

—अरे । यह तो भोर हो गया ।

( गोदान, २७ )

अरे हम लोग थे तो रोते - रोते भोर हो गयी थी - - -

( सूरज, ७७ )

— और फिर उसे एक क्षण चैन नहीं पड़ी ।

( सूरज, ७७ )

हर एक पर झल्ला उठती थी - - किसी बात में मुझे चैन नहीं मिलता था

( गुनाहों, ३४४ )

- - - सूनी - सी दुपहर को पत्ते के रिंग धीमें - धीमें
खनखना जाते हैं

( जलती झाड़ी, ६५ )

दोपहर ढल गया, कुछ सूझता है कि नहीं ।

( गोदान, १६ )

2.3. The next problem which should be discussec is that what do these grammarians mean when they say that the category of gender is inherent in the nouns in MSH.

The assertion that the category of gender is inherent in the nouns probably means that a native speaker of MSH is able to assign the appropriate gender to each and every noun when they are presented to him. Several classes can be set up on the basis of this sort of gender assignment to nouns, starting with the ones which present no difficulty at all. Thus the higer the number of the subclass of nouns would mean the relative increase in the uncertainty about the basis of such gender assignment as it can be inferred by the investigator. A classification of nouns on these lines would be something like the following.

(a) Human nouns will present the least amount of difficulty because in the case of these nouns gender and sex almost coincide with each other.

(b) Animate non-human nouns will present some difficulty. In this subclass the nouns will again fall into two subgroups, i.e., (1) the nouns having gender based on sex, and (2) the nouns having genders not based on sex. The nouns in the subgroup (1) are either like शेरनी (fem.) शेर (masc.), or गाय (fem.) and बैल (masc.). But the nouns in subgroup (2) simply designate the species like चिड़िया (fem.), मक्खी (fem.), मच्छर (masc.), etc. and do not contain any reference to sex. The sex distinction, and as a result thereof, the gender distinction for such nouns is introduced by the use of nouns like नर for male and मादा for female, i.e.,

नर चिड़िया and मादा चिड़िया

The correlation between sex and gender introduced by juxtaposing नर and मादा is not always complete. The speakers of MSH would accept, though with some hesitation, a sentence like the following as quoted by Amba Prasad Suman, but

नर कऊआ उड़ता है, मादा कऊआ उड़ती है

he will have difficulty in pluralizing the two occurrences of the noun कऊआ in the same way. नर कऊए उड़ते हैं is a possible sentence but *मादा कऊआएं उड़ती हैं will not be an acceptable sentence. Very probably this non-sentence will either be replaced by मादा कऊए उड़ते हैं or some indirect expression like वे कऊए जो उड़ते हैं मादा हैं could be employed. In other words, it is necessary to note the fact that even the correlation between sex and gender of animate nouns is not complete in MSH.[1]

(c) Animate proper nouns by themselves have no inherent gender, and every time such a noun occurs in a sentence, the speaker of the language has to rely on some extra linguistic information.[2]

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[1] Amba Prasad Suman's sentences illustrating the gender of animate non-human nouns denoting species are not very reliable and should not be accepted as sentences of MSH without reservation. Another interesting usage in his paper (cited earlier) as well as in his book हिन्दी : अतीत और वर्तमान् is the occurrence of प्रत्यय in the feminine gender. Examples illustrating the usage of this noun in masculine and feminine have already been given in section 2.2.

[2] To give an example of this extra linguistic information required for the gender assignment to animate proper nouns, we can cite two names here. Miss Judith Aronson, the secretary in the Dept. of South Asian Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago, often receives mail from India addressed to Mr. Judith Aronson. Similarly, the author has received letters from scholars in Europe addressed as Miss Kali Charon Bahl. It is a fact of the two cultures that the names Judith and Kali Charon would never be used for males and females respectively.

(d) Inanimate proper nouns are also like the animate proper nouns in the respect that they have no inherent gender, but they differ from them in one important respect. It seems that these nouns are assigned the gender of the common noun which designates the category of all the inanimate proper nouns denoting the objects in that category.

The proper nouns which fall into this category are usually terms denoting the various geo-cosmic phenomena, expressions designating various events, and terms refering to various subdivisions along the time axis.

The proper nouns in this category, for example गंगा ( नदी ) (fem.), दरयाये गंगा (masc.) हिमाल्य ( पहाड़ ) (masc.), अमावस्या (fem.) "fifteenth day of the Hindu month", चैत्र (masc.) "the name of a Hindu month", जनवरी (masc.) "January" and other similar nouns are masculine or feminine not because some gender characteristics are inherent in them. Such nouns are primarily names, and nouns in the language only secondarily.

(e) Technical terms, both generic as well as particular (e.g. विज्ञान (masc.) "science" vs. मनोविज्ञान (masc.) "psychology" and so forth) are in between the categories of proper names and the other categories of nouns to be discussed below. As designations for various concepts they have the characteristics of proper nouns, but as abstract nouns in the language, they belong with other such nouns. Their gender as nouns in the language is generally governed by the patterns involved in the other abstract nouns with which they belong as nouns.

(f) Nouns denoting material objects are probably the most confusing of oa all in their gender characteristics. The nouns denoting material objects can again be subdivided into two classes: (a) mass nouns and (b) count nouns. Grammarians of MSH have sometimes only hinted about the gender characteristics of these two classes of nouns in terms of dimensions of small vs. big, fine vs. crude and so on. No systematic study has ever been made of the nouns on this basis to see if this sort of distinction really leads to some definitive answer. It does not seem likely that useful results can be obtained by an investigation of these attributes of material objects because the grammatical gender is assigned to the names of these objects, and not to the objects themselves.

We believe useful results can be obtained if we study the linguistic basis of naming the material objects and of categorizing these names. The count nouns denoting material objects will fall into two subgroups in terms of the linguistic basis of their naming: (a) groups of related nouns, and (b) individual nouns. The nouns like the following are groups of related nouns:

डोर, डोरा, डोरी
तळ, तळा, रळी, तळवा
जाळ, जाळा, जाळी
नळ, नळी, नाळा, नाळी

| | |
|---|---|
| शीशा, | शीशी |
| झाड़, | झाड़ी |
| छत, | छत्ता |

The nouns like पुस्तक, मेढ़ा, कुरसी etc. are individual nouns. In the groups of related nouns, some groups contain related nouns which are all morphological complexes, in some all but one are morphological complexes, but there is no group of related nouns which consists of morphological simplexes. It seems that the gender of nouns which are complexes is concommittant with the relation between these complexes and their underlying simplex forms. In other words, the endings -a, and -i etc. occurring with these nouns are not gender suffixes.

The individual nouns would include the morphological simplexes of the related groups of nouns as well as others. The individual nouns can be grouped in more than one way. For instance the nouns पुस्तक, किताब ,ग्रन्थ, पोथी are all synonyms of some kind. Excepting the noun ग्रन्थ , all the other three are feminine nouns. The relationship in which पुस्तक and ग्रन्थ stand to each other can be observed in the following sentence.

इस ग्रन्थ का पुस्तकाकार प्रकाशन अभी हुआ है

"This work (book) has just been published in book form."

It is not because the noun पुस्तक is feminine and ग्रन्थ is masculine that they can occur in the above-noted sentence. The noun पुस्तक is +book, +form and the noun ग्रन्थ is +book, +content. Similarly the noun किताब can be distinguished from, say पुस्तक on the basis of its occurrence in nouns हिसाब - किताब "accounts" (i.e. written)", हिसाब की किताब "accounts book", etc. The noun पोथी is also +book, ±small size, +religious. None of these nouns have any inherent gender but they do stand in a systematic relationship with each other. The systematic relationship between ग्रन्थ and पुस्तक, and between पुस्तक and किताब is not different from the relationship between सौन्दर्य and सुन्दरता, and between सुन्दरता and खूबसूरती.

Along with the study of individual nouns in the manner we have suggested above, the linguistic aspects of naming of these nouns can be studied in compounding, in adjective-noun relationships and other grammatical environments. For example मेज-कुर्सियां is a possible compound noun but कुर्सियां-मेज is not.

(g) There are nouns like the following in MSH.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| जोड़ा | (masc.) | जोड़ी | (fem.) | "pair" |
| ढेर | (masc.) | ढेरी | (fem.) | "pile" |
| गुच्छा | (masc.) | गुच्छी | (fem.) | "bunch" |

टुकड़ा (masc.) टुकड़ी (fem.) "part"

There are other nouns like भीड़ (fem.) "crowd", समूह (masc.) "crowd, group", सेना (fem.) "army", etc. which do not occur in pairs.

The paired nouns जोड़ा : जोड़ी , टुकड़ा : टुकड़ी provide the clue for understanding the way MSH treats non-paired nouns.

जोड़ा , +pair

जोड़ी , +pair, +complementary to each other as in
बैलों की जोड़ी

टुकड़ा , +piece, +part

टुकड़ी , +part, +unit

ढेर , +pile, ±random

ढेरी , +pile, +non-random.

If we start with the assumption that pairs like जोड़ा : जोड़ी differ as to gender, the nature of difference between the two becomes difficult to understand.

(h) Verbal nouns, i.e. the nouns derived by the addition -ən¯n the verb stems belong in two groups -(a) native Hindi verbal nouns (b) borrowed from Sanskrit. A few examples are given below.

| MS Hindi Verbal Nouns | Tatsama Verbal Nouns |
|---|---|
| जलन | मनन |
| धड़कन | हनन |
| उलझन | कथन |
| घुटन | विवरण |
| देन | ताड़न |

Almost all MSH verbal nouns are feminine, whereas all tatsama verbal nouns are masculine. There are some MSH verbal nouns which occur in both the genders, e.g. गठन , चलन , and so on. The tatsamas generally occur in pairs as follows, though MSH has not borrowed all of them in pairs.

| (masc.) | (fem.) |
|---|---|
| वर्णन | वर्णना |
| स्थापन | स्थापना |
| अर्चन | अर्चना |
| विवेचन | विवेचना |
| ताड़न | ताड़ना |

The tatsama feminines and the MSH feminine verbal nouns are +process whereas the masculine tatsamas are -process. Examples have been given of the nouns कम्पन , गर्जन , फूलन , गठन in section 2.2 illustrating their occurrence in feminine as well as masculine genders. The switch of gender classes of these nouns is very systematic along the dimensions +process and -process. It is completely naive to characterize such usages as mistakes of some kind as well-known grammarians of MSH think.

(i) If we take a look at the abstract nouns of Perso-Arabic origin, we find that they neatly fall into three categories as mentioned by Bahri.

(1) Nouns having corresponding adjectives

| | |
|---|---|
| आबादी , | आबाद |
| बहादुरी | बहादुर |
| चालाकी | चालाक |

(2) nouns having no corresponding adjectives in MSH, e.g.

असर, फर्क, होश, काबू and so on.

(3) nouns whose corresponding adjectives are not used in MSH

दिल्लगी , खुमारी , दौलत , फुर्सत etc.

Such Perso-Arabic nouns in sub-categories (1) and (3) are all feminine in MSH. The nouns in the subcategory (2) involve both the genders. All Perso-Arabic abstract nouns involve the same sort of distinction as the tatsamas सुन्दरता vs. सौन्दर्य (masc.).

(j) There are some abstract nouns in synonymous pairs — one of Perso-Arabic origin and the other a tatsama. The gender possibilities of these nouns are Perso-Arabic feminine: tatsama masculine or Perso-Arabic masculine: tatsama feminine. A few examples are:

| Perso-Arabic | | Tatsama | |
|---|---|---|---|
| खबर | (fem.) | समाचार | (masc.) |
| कोशिश | (fem.) | यत्न | (masc.) |
| नुकसान | (masc.) | हानि | (fem.) |

Along with the above there are nouns which belong to the same gender classes, e.g. फायदा , लाभ (masc.) मदद, सहायता (fem.). The features on the basis of the linguistic aspect of naming of these nouns can be studied and can be illustrated by the contrast between खबर and समाचार . The noun खबर has corresponding adjective like बेखबर , खबरदार , and other derived abstract nouns बेखबरी , खबरदारी . समाचार not only lacks all this, it is also a morphological complex in origin. All such differences and similarities in genders of synonymous nouns of Perso-Arabic and tatsama origin as well as tadbhava nouns are treated in MSH either like सुन्दरता vs. सौन्दर्य or like साधन vs. साधना .

But to treat the gender as something inherent in them and then search for various attributes of genders amounts to putting the cart before the horse.

Similarly we can analyze the features of onomatopoetic, kinship and other nouns, not mentioned above quite systematically. What we have tried to demonstrate here is that nouns have no inherent gender. This amounts to saying that gender assignment of nouns is non-arbitrary. No grammarian of MSH has ever discussed the problematic nouns while citing their occurrences in sentences. Once such nouns are pulled out of context, it is impossible to tell why सामर्थ्य, a normally masculine noun is being used in feminine.

3.1. Earlier we have remarked about the uncertainty of gender of nouns. We have also shown that Mahāvīr Prasād Dvivedī who corrected the gender usages of other authors had himself used quite a few masculine nouns in feminine gender and vice versa. Deviations in gender usages of nouns since then have increased instead of decreasing. Earlier we quoted a part of Dimshits' paper in which he has pointed out the fact that indication of gender of nouns is confined to certain environments in the sentences of the language. There are some sentence environments where the indication of the gender of a noun by means of concord between a noun and other constituents in a sentence is a grammatical necessity. Observe the concordial possibilities between the underlined constituents in the following sentences.

लड़का जाता है

लड़की जाती है

लड़के ने एक रोटी खाई

लड़के ने दो रोटियां खाईं

लड़का बैठा हुआ है

लड़की बैठी हुई है

The various possibilities of concord between a noun and other constituents are (a) person-number concord, (b) gender-number concord, (c) number concord, and (d) gender concord. The sentences above illustrate gender-number concord. The other possibilities of concord are indicated in the sentences below.

Person-number concord

लड़का जाये

लड़की जाये

लड़के जायें

लड़कियां जायें

Number concord

हम तो आपके सामने अबोध बच्चे ठहरे

Gender concord

अच्छे लड़के को

अच्छे लड़कों को

अच्छी लड़की को

अच्छी लड़कियों को

Also in the syntactic environments which permit the occurrence of direct forms of nouns, the choice of occurrence or non-occurrence of concord depends on those syntactic environments. In all such environments the concordial possibilities involve either number alone or along with person or gender. The environments in which direct forms are not permitted, i.e, only the oblique forms of nouns occur, the only possibility of concord between a noun and its adjective is that of gender, and that too is optional, depending upon the occurrence or non-occurrence of a declineable adjective with the noun.

In the environments where the nouns occur in direct forms, their gender is primarily indicated by means of concord, and secondarily by means of number suffixes. In the oblique forms of nouns where number and gender are not associated, the indication of gender entirely depends upon concord. The observation that the gender is inherent in nouns seems to rest on these possibilities of gender indication. In the last section we discussed various subclasses of nouns from this point of view, trying to establish any general gender characteristics of nouns independently of the concordial possibilities, and concluded that no no gender characteristics of nouns in terms of masculine and feminine genders can be established in that manner. It is therefore absolutely necessary to understand the distinction between grammatical gender and sex. The terms masculine and feminine are therefore no more than designations for these two classes of nouns based on concordial features involving gender. The characteristics attributed to the gender of nouns by grammarians of MSH are independent of the gender classification of nouns in terms of masculine and feminine. It is because of these deeper features the nouns tend to be associated with the two concord classes and not vice versa. Therefore the reasons for the occurrence of nouns in MSH in varied genders should be sought in the deep lexical as well as grammatical feature analysis of these nouns rather than treating them all as mistakes of some kind.

3.2. With this discussion about the gender of nouns in mind, we shall discuss the occurrences of the noun शिकार in the following sentences from वृन्दावन लाल वर्मा, दबे पांव. In these sentences the noun शिकार occurs in masculine as well as feminine genders, both indicated by concord, and the sentences where there is no concord, the gender of this noun remains undetermined.

हिरन की शिकार काफी श्रम और सावधानी चाहती है

( १६ )

ऐसी हालत में बिना हाके के इनकी शिकार दुस्साध्य है

( २१ )

एक जगह जमकर बैठने की शिकार काफी कष्ट प्रद होती है

( २७ )

झाँसी से दो शिकारी हिरन की शिकार के लिये बेतवा किनारे गये

( ३० )

कुछ शिकारी इस प्रकार की शिकार को घृणा की दृष्टि से देखते है

( ३१ )

तीर कमान वाले टट्टी की शिकार का बहुत सहारा लेते हैं

( ३२ )

प्राचीन काल में भी गाड़ी से हिरन का शिकार खेला जाता था

( ३२ )

चिंकारे का शिकार करछाल की भी शिकार से अधिक कष्टसाध्य होता है

( २० )

इनके हाके का शिकार बहुत संकटमय है

( २१ )

हिरन वर्ग के जानवरों के लिये ढूंका या ढुकाई का शिकार भी अच्छा समझा जाता है

( ३० )

चीतल का शिकार बहुत सावधानी के साथ की जानेवाली हंकाई में हो सकता है

( ३५ )

परन्तु मचान के शिकार में इतनी अड़चने नहीं है

अधमुर्दे कान वालों को शिकार का साथी बनाना अनगिनत आफतों को न्योता देना है

( २६ )

गड्ढा बनाकर रात में शिकार के लिये बैठने का निश्चय करके -

( २८ )

वाल्डन के मन साध थी शिकार में एक जानवर हस्तगत करके- अपने मित्रों को - - - दावत देने की

( २८ )

इस शिकार में काफी परिश्रम पड़ता है

( ३० )

वे कहते हैं कि यह कसाईपन है, शिकार खेलना नहीं है

( ३१ )

परन्तु शिकार में ऐसी साधारण चोटों का लग जाना एक साधारण बात है

( ७७ )

We shall translate all the occurrences of the noun शिकार in the above-noted sentences by the gloss "hunting". "Hunting" is an activity as opposed to a state. In the examples of sentences given above the noun शिकार occurs in feminine gender where it represents an instance of this activity. It occurs in masculine gender where this noun represents a class as whole, as for instance hunting a deer as opposed to hunting deer. The various की - and का - phrases qualify the noun शिकार on these lines. Some kind of distinction can also be seen working in the occurrence of the noun मजाल in feminine as well as masculine genders in the following sentences.

तुमको झुनिया से बोलने का कोई मजाल नहीं है

( गोदान, १३२ )

वह सवा सौ की थैली लेकर घर आये तो किसकी मजाल है, जो उसके सामने मुंह खोल सके

( गोदान, १३३ )

The environments where the gender of the noun शिकार is not indicated by means of concord, this noun represents a process. The noun शिकार also occurs in MSH in the sense of the "hunted animal", the "flesh of such an animal", or the "victim". In all such environments, it occurs either as an end or as a means to an end. Its usages in all these environments are the result of the modification it undergoes as an activity which +class or as a +process noun.

The above discussion on the various occurrences of the noun शिकार illustrates that there is nothing inherent in this noun itself by way of gender. Also as we discussed in section 3.1., the category of gender is merely a manifestation of the deeper distinctions which are partly lexical and partly grammatical. The examples (like अंगिया [fem.] vs. अंगा [masc.] both meaning a garment, the former for women and the latter for men, or बदली [fem.] "transfer" vs. बदला [masc.] "revenge", etc.). quoted by Saksena in his article referred to in the footnote earlier are not different from की शिकार vs. का शिकार as regards the inherent lexical properties of these nouns. The difference lies primarily in the fact that both अंगिया and अंगा do not have a common element which would correspond to the gender irrelevant occurrences of the noun शिकार . It is not the gender distinction which is instrumental to semantic distinctions of various sorts as implied by Saksena in his paper. It is because of the underlying semantic distinction, the gender categorization is imposed on the nouns as a purely linguistic device.

The nature of this device can be made clear to some extent by comparing the tatsama nouns ending in -ən with the MSH nouns ending -ən. All such MSH nouns are feminine whereas the tatsamas borrowed by MSH are all masculine. A few examples are given below.

| MSH -ən nouns | Tatsama -ən nouns |
|---|---|
| धड़कन | अर्पण |
| जलन | मनन |

उड़न
उड़ान
उलझन
घुटन
घट्टन
झड़न

उद्दीपन
उन्मूलन
उल्लंघन
चयन
भ्रमण
साधन

Along with above two classes which are relatively speaking distinct in their gender usages, one finds quite a few others whose gender varies. A few sentences containing the nouns कम्पन, गर्जन झूलन and गठन given at the end of the section 2.2. illustrate the -ən nouns with variable genders. It should be remembered that all the -ən nouns are verbal in nature, quite a few of them have no corresponding verbs in MSH. All these -ən nouns in MSH, as they occur in sentences, indicate evident vs. latent activity, or form vs. shape of the object to which they are applied, or qualitative vs. attributive characteristics of objects which the speaker of a sentence chooses to emphasize. By themselves these nouns are neither feminine nor masculine. Their feminine or masculine representation is entirely dependent upon their lexical features and their grammatical environments. The indication of gender of noun like गठन in a dictionary of MSH is a linguistic generalization about this noun, a generalization which is very much on the surface and is felt by the speakers to be lexical rather than a syntactical one.

Earlier we pointed out that knowing the name of a person, without either knowing that person or the cultural conventions which govern the application of that name for a male or a female, is not enough basis for distinguishing the sex. Similarly we cannot tell the gender of a common name with which we are not familiar, or in other words we do not quite know how to use that noun in sentences other than of the kind यह क्या है ? Quite a few nouns have recently been coined and are being put to use in MSH technical writings. All we have to do is make a list of these nouns and ask a native speaker of the language to tell us the gender of these nouns. If the category of gender is inherent in the nouns in the manner the various scholars of MSH think it is, almost any speaker of the language should be able to tell the gender of those nouns. Such an experiment will reveal how important it is to know the meanings as well as the usages of nouns for their categorization in MSH.

4.1. The handling of the gender distinction of nouns in the base component of a grammar of MSH has important consequences. The manner in which we have discussed this problem clearly implies that the feminine and masculine gender classification of nouns is merely a surface distinction. All along we have tried to establish the fact that MSH makes use of gender as an overt representation of covert features of nouns. In this sense, as an element of concord, it plays an important role in the language. Pursuing this line of approach, it can be said that the simplification of three-way gender distinction of OIA into two-way gender categorization in MSH is primarily a simplification in the variety of forms on the surface. In other words the reclassification of OIA neuter nouns फल and पुस्तक as masculine and feminine has not brought about any reallignment in the deep feature specification of these nouns as -animate nouns. In other words, the primary gender distinction in MSH, if we prefer the use of this term, is still animate vs. inanimate (i.e., ±animate). On the other hand, the switching of masculine or feminine genders of OIA nouns into feminine or masculine does involve changes in deep features of these nouns.

## Number

1.1. The category of number is associated with person in the pronouns, and with gender in the nouns. It cannot be morphologically isolated from gender in the direct forms of nouns. In the oblique forms, where the plural is always indicated by the suffix *-õ* for all the nouns irrespective of their gender, one can posit number as the only morphological category.

1.2. In addition to the above two modes, i.e., the direct forms and the oblique forms, there are several lexical devices for the indication of number of nouns.

1.3. The category of number as it occurs in environments other than where only the number concord between nouns is involved, e.g., the number concord between nouns occurring as complement and the nouns occurring as subject of intransitive verbs or as object of transitive verbs (see the section on incomplete verbs), can be expressed by the following rules:

Number ------> [±honorific]
[-honorific] -----> [±plural]

The usual categorization of number as singular vs. plural applies to ±animate nouns, whereas the honorific number occurs only with the +animate +human. For example, in the following sentence, the nouns

पिता राम के पिता आये हैं can

be interpreted to have plural concord with the verb. Since this use of plural to indicate the honorific rules out the occurrence of contrast between singular and plural, it seems necessary to posit the honorific number as distinct from the plural.

1.4. Below we shall discuss somewhat briefly the role of the number in nouns as well as pronouns of MSH.

2.1. We have indicated above that the honorific number is characterized by the occurrence of the non-plural noun, in plural concord with the verb. Observe a few more sentences as given below.

आपकी बहिन आईं हैं

राम दास आये हैं

2.2. The other device very commonly employed in MSH to indicate the honorific number of nouns is the use of the honorific particle जी after the nouns. For example:

आपकी बहिन जी आईं हैं

राम दास जी आये हैं

There are some restrictions on the occurrence of the honorific particle in MSH.

(1) the honorific particle is incompatible with the plural,

(2) with proper names it occurs in the following two ways only:

जवाहर लाल जी नेहरू

नेहरू जी

i.e., the possibility * जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी is not allowed.

(3) when there is a sequence of nouns involved, all intended in honorific, the particle जी is repeated with every noun in the manner indicated in (2) above.

2.3. There is a slight difference in connotation between the two modes of indicating the honorific number. The occurrence of the particle जी indicates an honorific of a higher degree than the concordial honorific. The former implies familiarity on the part of the speaker and the latter is non-committal.

It is fashionable among certain urbanites to use the English terms for their parents. The participle जी is juxtaposed to the terms like ममी and डैडी but never to the terms like "mother" and "father" etc. Such usages also exist in literary writings.

2.3. Proper names denoting certain -animate but sacred objects also take the particle जी, e.g., the following sentence. These -animate

पास ही गंगा जी बह रही थीं

nouns do not occur with the concordial honorific. The nouns juxtaposed with जी also require honorific concord.

3.1. Proper nouns do not occur with the plural. In case it is necessary to refer to more than one individual or place or object with the same proper name, the tendency is to circumvent such usage by means of expressions like मोहन दास नाम के व्यक्ति, गंगा नाम की नदियां or use the proper nouns predicatively, e.g., यहां पर तीन मोहन दास हैं Colloquially, one may find proper names being used in plural but never in direct form, e.g.,

भारत को अनेक महात्मा गांधियों की आवश्यकता है

In such situations a proper noun looses its characteristics as a shifter, i.e., it is no longer a proper noun.

3.2. Next in line with proper nouns are kinship nouns. Unlike the proper nouns which have no meaning excepting naming an individual, the kinship nouns are somewhat more meaningful. Because of their internal structure, they presuppose a reference to the ego. These nouns occur with honorific and non-honorific numbers but their pluralization is not dependent upon intra-linguistic considerations.

With the exceptions of terms like पिता and पति which are never pluralized, and the terms like माता and पत्नि which can be pluralized, the other terms occur with the plural suffix.

The kinship nouns which indicate siblings of the same sex, e.g., राम मेरा भाई है implies that मैं राम का भाई हूं exhibit some special number characteristics. For instance, observe the following sentences:

मेरे पिता चार भाई थे

उसकी पत्नि दो बहिने हैं

In the above sentences, it is not the subject noun which is in concord with the verb. The switch of concord from the subject-noun to the noun occurring as complement is a property of these reciprocity kinship nouns.

Another property of the kinship nouns mentioned above is illustrated by the under-noted two pairs of sentences.

हम चार भाई हैं
हम चारों भाई - भाई हैं

तुम दोनों एक दूसरे से भाई - भाई सा व्यवहार करो
तुम दोनों एक दूसरे से भाइयों सा व्यवहार करो

In the first pair of sentences the contrast between भाई and भाई-भाई can be indicated by means of the opposition real vs. assumed kinship. In the second pair the contrast between भाई-भाई and भाइयों involves individual reciprocity of brotherhood vs. aggregate brotherhood. The भाई-भाई in the sentence हम चारों भाई-भाई हैं cannot be substituted by भाईयों as in the last sentence.

4.1. Human common nouns, when grouped together in terms of their semantic areas, and arranged along the scale of synonymity within those areas, seem to fall into two discreet categories: (a) classificatory, and (b) designatory. For instance the nouns आदमी, मनुष्य, पुरुष, इन्सान, मानव, नर, मर्द, व्यक्ति, शख्स, जन, मानुष etc. all belong to the semantic area of "man". Among these the noun आदमी can be interpreted as a classificatory noun, i.e., a common noun which can represent the various other nouns of the semantic area including itself. The rest of the nouns are designatory common nouns, i.e., the nouns which denote the characteristic features of the semantic area along the scale of synonymity.

The distinction between classificatory and designatory common nouns is relative, depending upon the level at which they are applied along the scale of synonymity.

4.2. Human common nouns when occurring as classificatory nouns do not occur with plural number. Observe the occurrence of the noun आदमी as a classificatory noun in the following sentences where it comes very close to the specialized usage of "one" in English.

धन लेकर आदमी और क्या करता है

गाय - - - अस्सी रुपये की है, मगर ऐसी कि आदमी देखता रहे

## मुसीबत में ही आदमी दूसरों के सामने हाथ फैलाता है

The category of number plural vs. non-plural occurs only with designatory human common nouns. The plural indicates more than one individual, and the non-plural an individual or a class of individuals having the characteristic feature of the semantic area. A few examples are given below of the noun आदमी in plural as well as non-plural numbers where it occurs as a designatory noun.

ओसारे में एक बड़ा-सा तख्त पड़ा था जो शायद दस आदमियों से भी न उठता

हम लोग समझते हैं, बड़े आदमी बहुत सुखी होते हैं

होरी को एक नयी युक्ति सूझ गयी । ओला-सोना बड़े आदमियों के लिए है

बड़े आदमियों की हां-में-हां मिलाने में कुछ न कुछ आनन्द तो मिलता ही है

गांव में इतने आदमी तो हैं । किस पर बेदखली नहीं आयी

- - - हज़ारों आदमियों पर हुकूमत है

आदमी तो हम भी हैं

कौन कहता है कि हम तुम आदमी हैं

बड़े आदमियों की बराबरी तुम कैसे कर सकते हो भाई ?

ज़रा इन भले आदमियों की जवांमर्दी की परीक्षा ले रहा था

काना कहने से काने को जो दु:ख होता है, वह क्या दो आंखों वाले आदमी को हो सकता है ?

लेकिन जिसकी आत्मा में बल नहीं, अभिमान नहीं, वह और चाहे कुछ हो, आदमी नहीं है

यहां जिसके हाथ में लाठी,है, वह ग़रीबों कुचलकर बड़ा आदमी बन जाता है

मैंने सोचा संकट में पड़े आदमी की गाय लूंगा

भला आदमी लड़कों को क्यों नहीं लाया

उसका आदमी बम्बई में दूध की दूकान करता था

4.3. Animate non-human nouns occur quite freely with the category of number. The distinction of classificatory vs. designatory nouns has no bearing on the occurrence of number with these nouns. The plural vs. non-plural numbers indicate more than one vs. one or the species.

Some animate non-human nouns which are designatory terms like the human common nouns, for instance गऊ "cow, +religious" vs. गाय "cow", behave like human common nouns with regard to the category of number. Observe the occurrences of the noun गऊ in the following sentences.

सवेरे - सवेरे गऊ के दर्शन हो जायं तो क्या कहना
धन्य है तुम्हारा जीवन कि गउओं की इतनी सेवा करते हो

5.1. Inanimate common nouns can be grouped as follows:

(a) count nouns
(b) mass nouns
(c) collective nouns
(d) material nouns

Though the above-noted categories have other uses in the MSH grammar, we shall concentrate on them from the point of view of the category of number only.

Most inanimate common nouns belong to more than one of the above categories. Observe the following examples.

उसने कपड़े से बर्तन ढंक दिया
वह कपड़े धो रहा है
वह कपड़े का काम करता है
वह कपड़े पहिन चुका है
आज कल कई लोग चमड़े के कपड़े पहिनते हैं
*चमड़े का कपड़ा बनता है
रेशम का कपड़ा बनता है
कोट का कपड़ा
*कपड़े का कोट
कपड़े का जूता
जूते का कपड़ा

5.2. Inanimate nouns show the number characteristics in terms of the four categories as follows:

(a) Count nouns are +[±plural], and mean more than one vs. one.

(b) Mass nouns are -[±plural], i.e., irrelevant to the category of number.

(c) Collective nouns are ±[+plural], and thus show contrast between a group or whole vs. a component on the basis of presence vs. absence of plural.

(d) Material nouns are ±[-plural] involving contrast between absence of non-plural (i.e. plural) vs. presence of non-plural, and indicate the semantic distinction between kinds of a material vs. that material in general.

6.1. The occurrence of number with abstract nouns involves constraints of two kinds. Quite a few abstract nouns involve the distinction of specific vs. generic, e.g., मत "sect, vote; opinion", धर्म "religion; inherent character", प्रार्थना "a prayer; prayer, request". The abstract paired nouns like सुन्दरता : सौन्दर्य which difer from each other in the basis of the opposition inherent quality vs. abstracted attribute, seen to subsume the dimension specific vs. generic. There are other nouns which express the distinction specific vs. geeric in terms of the dimension an act vs. activity. For instance, th nouns वर्णन , भ्रमण , प्रदर्शन , etc. mean respectivel "description; describing", "a tour, touring", "a demonstration;

demonstrating". Some nouns indicate the specific vs. generic contrast by means of the dimension instrument of the activity vs. the activity itself, e.g., श्रवण "ear; hearing".

In all the above cases, the abstract nouns are +[+plural] and -[+plural] when they are +specific, and +generic respectively.

6.2.
The absract nouns like प्राण, आंसू, होश, दर्शन and दाम etc. are collective nouns in plural and mass nouns in non-plural.

उसके प्राण सूख जाते थे -
इस देह को चीर कर देखो, इसमें कितना प्राण है

7.1. Some collective nouns both animate and inanimate are inherently non-plural, e.g., भीड़, जाति, फौज, सेना, रेल गाड़ी, सभा, सरकार and so on. All such nouns may occur with plural number when they are not compounded with other nouns. For instance, जाति (non-plural) सभा (non-plural) etc. have plural forms जातियां , सभायें but the compounds नारी-जाति , राज्य-सभा have no plural counterparts.

7.2. There are in MSH a large number of paired nouns belonging to all the categories of nouns described above. A few examples are given below.

राम - लक्ष्मण
सीता - राम
माता - पिता
पिता -पुत्र
नर - नारी

गंगा - यमुना
कपड़ा - लत्ता
मेज़ - कुर्सी
धर्म - कर्म
मान - अपमान

The paired nouns which are animate, or inanimate proper are always understood to be in plural in the sense 1 + 1 = 2. The rest of the paired nouns are understood as non-plural nouns either in the sense part +part = whole (e.g., कपड़ा - लत्ता, बर्तन - भांडा ) or in the sense x or y. The occurrence of number with these paired nouns follows the rules which apply to their component nouns.

8.1. The nouns denoting the names of events like दीवाली, वैशाखी etc. and those indicating the names of days and months are also pluralized when preceded by numerical adjectives. In plural number, they indicate a span of time or duration just like the common nouns घंटा, दिन, रात etc.

9.1. The number of nouns is also specified lexically in MSH. The number is indicated lexically by employing elements like समूह, गण, जन, लोग, जाति, वृन्द, समाज, and वर्ग etc. after the nouns, or by using adjectives with the nouns. With the exception of गण, जन and लोग , all the rest of the nouns meaning "group" are inherently non-plural.

9.2. Adjectival specification of number will be discussed in the section on adjectives.

10.1 We mentioned earlier that the occurrence of the category of number with nouns is a syntactic necessity in the environments where concord between nouns and other constituents is involved. In the sentence structure of MSH, the concordial indication of gender of nouns can be easily avoided by the speakers of the language by using the nouns in the oblique forms with postpositions, and by employing other devices which make the gender indication of nouns irrelevant to the surface structure of such sentences. But the indication of number of nouns does not seem to undergo any such constraints with the consequence that the speaker of the language practically has no choice. Therefore, our remark, that the indication of number of nouns is a syntactic necessity, should be interpreted to mean that a noun with the loss of its number characteristics is no longer felt by the native speakers as a noun in the language.

This argument brings us to the question of syntactic vs. lexical constraints on the occurrence of number with nouns in some environments. Observe the pair of sentences below where the occurrence of

राम को नज़र आता है
*राम को नजरें आता है

plural with the noun नजर yields a non-sentence. These sentences may be contrasted with the following:

रास्ते में अचानक मोहन पर मेरी नजर पड़ गई
रास्ते में अचानक मोहन मुझे नजर पड़ गया

The noun नजर cannot take the plural number in these sentences too, but the concord in मेरी नजर पड़ गई does indicate the gender of the noun. The noun नजर has the characteristics specific vs. generic.

As a +specific noun and thus being a +[±plural] occurs without any constraints on its number in the following contexts:

N से नजर (pl.) मिला -
N से नजर (pl.) लड़ा -
N की नजर (pl.) में ऊंचा उठ -

In all the above contexts where it is +[±plural] it has the characteristics of count nouns. In the sentence containing the phrase N पर N की नजर पड़ - it acts like an undifferentiated mass. The basis we have tried to develop for the systematization of number characteristics of nouns (along with the systematization of gender characterization) eliminates the question of syntactical vs. lexical restriction on the occurrence of number with nouns. By appropriately interpreting the hierarchical relation between these features, the various functions of the category of number can be adequately expressed grammatically.

## The Object Constituent

1. The NP of transitive verbs (i.e., the verbs which are +NP), usually termed the object, consists of a variety of constituents as follows:

(a) Specific
  (i) action noun phrase
  (ii) non-action noun phrase
(b) General
  (i) expressed
  (ii) implied

2. The action noun phrase has been described in a separate section and will not be discussed here. A few sentences with verb देख illustrate the variety of nouns which can occur as objects with this verb in the subclass (ii), i.e. non-action noun phrase.

अब माणिक भी चुप और जमुना भी चुप। माणिक जमुना को देखें। जमुना माणिक को देखे और गाय उन दोनों को देखे

( सूरज, २८ )

परन्तु अभीतक वे डाह को ठीक-ठीक देख नहीं सके हैं

( चारु, ४३४ )

वे इस समस्या को केवल एक सामाजिक कुरीति के रूप में ही देख पाए हैं

( नदु, ४० )

उस मुस्कराहट भी मन्टोलेपुरी ने शमादान की रोशनी में देख लिया

( कचनार, २०४ )

मुझे जीवित गाड़कर देख लो, वर्षों तक वैसा का वैसा बना रह सकता हूँ

( चारु, ५८ )

किसी काम को नीची निगाह से नहीं देखना चाहिये

( सूरज, ५४ )

- - - और भगवान् की माया देखो कि जमुना का व्याह ही कहीं तय नहीं हुआ

( सूरज, २६ )

इसके पहले मैंने अपनी कविता के वास्तविक सौन्दर्य को न देखा था

( स० स०, १८२ )

- - - जैसे किसी निपुण कवि का निवद्ध नाटक अभिनीत होता देख रहा हो ऊं

( चारू, ४०२ )

3. We have chosen the verb देख - because this verb admits an almost unrestricted variety of nouns as its objects. A classification of transitive verbs on the basis of their occurrence with various classes of nouns as their object has been outlined in the section on causal verbs.

The grammars of MSH classify all the verbs on the basis of their occurrence with one object or with two objects as in the sentences below. In the first sentence, the stem फाड़ -has only one noun पुस्तक

लड़के ने पुस्तक फाड़ दी है

लड़के ने मोहन की पुस्तक दे दी है

as its object. In the second sentence the verb दे - has two nouns मोहन - and पुस्तक - as its indirect and direct objects respectively. The occurrence of two objects, as with the verb दे - in the above-noted sentence, is generally thought to be an inherent characteristic of some transitive verbs. Almost all the two-object transitive verbs optionally occur with one object. A few sentences are given below to illustrate the occurrence of one or two objects with such verbs.

उसने लड़के को लौटा दिया ।

"He sent the boy back"

उसने लड़के को पत्र लौटा दिया

"He returned the letter to the boy."

उसने एक लेख लिखा है

"He has written a paper."

उसने भाई को पत्र लिखा है

"He has written a letter to his brother."

The verbs like लौटा-, लिख-, भेज-, मार-, वजा-, वोल-, मल-, फेंक-, डाल-, लगा-, वता-, वांट-, मना-, etc. can optionally be two object verbs depending upon the kind of nouns which occur with them as their direct object. For example, the verbs लौटा - and भेज - will become two-object verbs when their object is an inanimate noun. The others like फेंक - and डाल - etc. will admit another object, i.e., the indirect object, when their direct object is an inanimate noun replacing a direction or a place adverb.

उसने कुत्ते के सामने रोटी फेंक दी

"He threw a piece of bread in front of the dog."

उसने कुत्ते को रोटी फेंक दी

"He threw a piece of bread for the dog."

The verbs like दें and सौंप - etc. which occur with two objects very frequently, are no exceptions.

उसने भूल से मशिन में हाथ दे दिया

4. The one-object verbs, with the exception of stems like खा - "to eat", जान - "to know" as well many others may take another object sometimes called the dative object. Observe the two different meanings of the following sentence.

उसने भाई को पत्र लिख दिया है

"He has written a letter to his brother."

"He has written a letter for his brother."

The constituent भाई को is an indirect object in the first meaning of the sentence, and a dative object in the second meaning. The above-noted sentence in its second meaning can be derived from the following sentence.

उसने भाई के लिये पत्र लिख दिया है

There are two pre-conditions for the derivation of sentences containing a dative object (a) the adverbial noun occurring with the postposition के लिये is an animate noun, and (b) the transitive verb occurs with the explicator दे- . The non-fullfillment of these two conditions will not permit the derivation of the corresponding sentence with the dative object. Also the occurrence of the explicator दे- in the derived sentence is obligatory, i.e., a sentence such as

उसने भाई को पत्र लिखा है
"He has written a letter to his brother."

is not an ambiguous sentence.

The dative object can also occur in sentences containing some action noun phrases.

उसने मुझे खर्चें का अन्दाजा लगा दिया
"He estimated the expenses for me (i.e., on my behalf)."

Further details about the occurrence of the dative object in MSH still remain to be worked out.

5.1. A general object when expressed in a sentence is usually an indefinite pronoun or the nouns like वात etc. Following sentences with the verb देख illustrate a variety of these objects.

इन आकाशों ने क्या-कुछ दैखा है, क्या-कुछ इन्हें देखना है

यह एक दु:स्वप्न है जो अभी वीत जाएगा और आखें खोलकर वही देख लेंगे जो देखना चाहता हैं

पर एक वात अक्सर माणिक देख़ते थे कि - - - सूरज

## 1. Action Noun Phrases

1.1. Grammarians of MSH have described a variety of noun as well as adjective verb sequences, often labelled as conjunct verbs to distinguish them from compounding of verbs by explicators (see section compound verbs ). According to Hacker, a conjunct verb is "a combination of a substantive or an adjective (which may be a Sanskrit past participle) with a verb." It has been further observed by Hacker that a verb stem occurring in conjunct verb has "very little of special context in it but denotes only a general concept of action ( करना, देना etc.) or process or state ( होना ), special context of the action or process or state being expressed by the noun ( e.g. सर्वनाश करना, कैदी बनाना, विकल होना )."

The term "conjunct verb" as used by these grammarians includes several grammatically divergent phenomena. For example, observe the following sentences:

मैंने उसको शिक्षा दी
मैंने उसकी प्रशंसा की
मैंने उसको किताब दान दी
मुझे यह किताब इनाम मिली

उसने मुझे काबू कर लिया
उसने गीत याद कर लिया
वह बहुत विकल हो रहा है

In the above noted sentences, the sequences उसको शिक्षा' and उसकी प्रशंसा are action noun phrases, the nouns दान and इनाम (with the ellipses of the postposition में after both) are adverbs, and the nouns काबू (with the ellipses of the postposition में ), याद as well as the adjective विकल are complements. The latter two phenomena will be described in the appropriate sections. In this section we shall concentrate on the action noun phrases only.

1.2. Action Noun Phrase Defined: An action noun phrase consists of a noun denoting an activity, and is preceded by a postposition which links the activity noun to its locus noun. The following sentences illustrate the action noun phrase N पर नजर, N से नजर, N की ओर नजर,

यही नहीं, रोहिणी जल - प्रपात पर भी उनकी नजर गई

( स0 स0 ६३ )

छूटते ही चौखट के बाहर रक्खे दोनों पुतलों पर नजर गई

( बूंद २१ )

मैंने उसको देखकर आंखें बचानी चाहीं, लेकिन उसकी नजर भी मुझ पर पड़ गई थी ( राह ३२ )

- - - तो सबसे पहले मेरी नजर उसी व्यक्ति पर पड़ी

( राकेश ४१ )

सज्जन की तरफ से नजर चुराते हुए, कर्नल से नजरें मिलाकर ईमानदारी का इजहार करते हुए महिपाल ने कहा ( बूंद ३० )

पति ने ( N से ) नजरें कतरालीं

( बूंद ६६ )

इन लोगों के आते ही जोखन लाल ने घड़ी की ओर नजर डाली

( स0 स0 १८३ )

Below we shall discuss these three components of action noun phrases.

2.1. Activity Nouns: Lexically an activity noun may denote an abstract activity or may refer to a concrete object which could serve as an instrument of activity, e.g., the nouns ध्यान, नजर, हाथ and लड़का etc. Each one of these activity nouns, besides having its lexical meaning, has a set of overlaid grammatical features. The lexical meanings as well as the overlaid grammatical features of the above noted nouns are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| ध्यान, | thinking; + direction, + distance; + direction, - distance; + penetration; - benefaction ... |
| नजर, | seeing; + direction, + distance; + direction, - distance; + penetration; + reciprocity; + benefaction; - benefaction ... |
| हाथ, | hand; an instrument of various activities; + direction, + distance; + direction, - distance; + penetration; + reciprocity; + benefaction; - benefaction ... |
| लड़का | boy; an instrument of activity; + benefaction ... |

A complete systematization of these overlaid grammatical features of action noun phrases in terms of their compatibility with the lexical features of activity nouns is still under investigation. Therefore only a few preliminary observations can be made about them at this stage. These grammatical features form the basis of dependence between an activity noun and the various possibilities of postpositions which link the activity noun with its locus. In other words the native speakers of MSH have very little choice in the employment of these features, and therefore in the selection of the postpositions. Each one of these features constitutes the central core of verbal concepts which are generated by an activity noun. The generation of these verbal concepts can be illustrated by the following examples with the noun ध्यान keeping the feature -benefaction constant. Various nuances of the meaning of this noun are indicated along with the sentence.

(1) awareness

उसे इसका तनिक भी ध्यान न था कि बात इतनी बढ़ जायगी

( मानसरोवर,१५० )

(2) thought

पर जव जव (मुझे) उसका ध्यान आता है मन चंचल हो उठता है

( चारू, ४०३ )

(3) reverie

दादा ने नाम लिया, तो निन्नी का ध्यान टूटा

( अनदेखे, १७ )

(4) reflection

- - - कदाचित् प्रतापी जयित्र चन्द के अपार धैर्य और साहस का ध्यान कर रही थीं - - - ( चारू, १० )

(5) concentration

मैं अवश्य तपस्या वढ़ाऊंगी और केवल गुरु चरणों का ही ध्यान किया करूंगी

(6) meditation

आजकल सुमन्तपुरी जी वहुत ध्यान लगाते हैं, एकान्त में रहते हैं

(7) looking after

नागरत्ना को अपने लौट आने तक मनिनेखला का ध्यान रखने तथा घर सहेजने का आदेश दे वह दूत के साथ रथ पर चली

( सुहाग, २४८ )

The occurrence of the action noun phrase N का ध्यान with the verbs हो आ -, टूट-, कर-, and रख may now be contrasted with N पर ध्यान(i.e. the presence of the feature + direction, - distance).

(1) heed

उन्होंने कभी इस बात पर ध्यान ही नहीं दिया ( स० स० २०५ )

(2) mind

मंसूर का ध्यान अब उस प्लेनपर नहीं था जिसे वनाने वह निकले थे

( स० स० २१७ )

और अपने वचनों की पवित्रता पर तुम्हें ध्यान रहेगा ( चित्रलेखा, ६३ )

(3) attention

मीता का ध्यान चाक्लेट पर खिंच आया ( वे दिन, ४६)

Above we have given examples of an activity noun which is convemtionally regarded as an abstract noun. The nature of action noun phrases can be made clear if we compare the above noted examples with the occurrences of the noun हाथ as an activity noun as illustrated below.

| | |
|---|---|
| N की ओर हाथ उठा - | "to point towards the N" |
| N पर हाथ वैठा - | "to practise the N" |
| N पर हाथ उठा-- | "to raise hand with the intention of hitting the N" |
| N में हाथ डाल - | "to start doing the N" |
| N में हाथ हो | "(for someone) to have a hand in N" |
| N से दो हाथ कर - | "to have a dual with N" |
| N को हाथ लगा - | "to touch the N" |
| N का हाथ देख - | "to examine the N (as a doctor does to his patient)" |

In all the above examples the noun हाथ occurs as an instrument of various activities and has become a linguistic gesture which denotes the various cultural contexts in a symbolic sort of way.

The action noun phrases can thus be regarded to have two functions, denoting abstract activities and describing cultural conventions by means of symbolic gestures and the activity nouns are the central core around which these two extremes operate.

It may not be out of place to compare the action noun phrases formed out of the noun नजर which is an abstract activity noun and also acts as instrument of gestures.

N की ओर नजर पड़ -

N की ओर नजर डाल -

N की ओर नजर कर -

N की ओर नजर रख -

N की ओर नजर रह -

N की ओर नजर जा -

N की ओर नजर मार -

N की ओर नजर फेर -

N की ओर नजर हो$_{२}$

N पर नजर जा -

N पर नजर पड़ -

N पर नजर डाल -

N पर नजर रख -
N पर नजर रह -
N पर नजर दौड़ा--
N पर नजर जमा -
N पर नजर मार -
N पर नजर ठहर -
N पर नजर टिक -
N पर नजर चढ़ -
N पर नजर हो२

N में नजर रह -
N में नजर रख -

N से नजर लड़ -
N से नजर लड़ा -
N से नजर मिल -
N से नजर मिला -
N से नजर वच -
N से नजर वचा -

N से नजर चुरा -

N से नजर छिपा

N को नजर लग -

N को नजर लगा -

N की नजर चाह -

N की नजर वचा -

N की नजर उतार -

N की नजर निकाल -

N की नजर वदल -

## 2.2. Linking Postpositions

The linking postpositions have a dual role in action noun phrases. They link the activity noun to its locus noun, and also indicate the overlaid grammatical features of the activity nouns. Below we list examples to illustrate the various postpositions possible in action noun phrases.

के अन्दर

उनके जाने के समाचार ने माधवी और पान्सा के अन्दर प्रतिहिंसा की अदम्म ज्वाला भड़का दी

( सुहाग, १७४ )

के आगे

लेकिन, अब, इस उम्र में तो ऐसा लगता है यह नाम नहीं, तिलस्मी गडा है, जिसके आगे काल का हथकण्डा भी नहीं चल पा रहा है

( अपनी खबर, ११८ )

के ऊपर

पर उसने मेरे ऊपर भी अपने अस्त्र का प्रयोग करना चाहा था

( चारू, १६५ )

सबने भल्ले बाबू और भाभी के ऊपर ही आरोप लगाया

( बूंद? १३४ )

की ओर

लेकिन मैंने उनकी ओर दृष्टि नहीं दी

( चारू, ५० )

- - - तारा ने अपने पति की ओर शोखी सुहाग-भरा तीखा कटाक्षपात किया

( बूंद; ६६ )

का

हम लोग परिस्थिति का अध्ययन कर रहे हैं

( स० स० १०३ )

- - - तो भी उसे किसी प्रकार की व्यथा का अनुभव नहीं हो रहा था

( चारू, ११३ )

को

वह प्रकृति के जड़ संघात की सर्वोत्तम परिणति - मन और बुद्धि - को आघात पहुंचाती रहती है

( चारू, १४१ )

मैनसिंह की दुष्टता भरी मुस्कान से उसे और भी आघात पहुंचा

(

कोवलन से उन्हें ऐसा आघात लगा था जिसे वे सह न पा रहे थे

( सुहाग, १०१ )

के खिलाफ

इसी गड़बड़ी में हमारे खिलाफ़ एक गोल भी हो गया

( राह १३४ )

एलेक्शन की महज एक चाल के लिये इंसानियत के खिलाफ इतना बड़ा षड्यंत्र रचा गया

( बूंद, १२५)

वहां हिन्दुओं के खिलाफ विष - वमन किया जाता है

( स० स० १५५ )

पर

ऐसे संस्मरणों में किसी एक मन्द घटना के कारण अनेक गुण - सम्पन्न पुरूष पर अनावश्यक आंच भी आ सकती है

( अपनी खबर, १२ )

और लेखक के नाते मुझे उस पर गौर करना ही होगा

( बूंद, ३५ )

के पक्ष में

आजकल प्रबंधित करेंसी के पक्ष में जो कार्यवाहियां की जाने लगी हैं वे इस विचारधारा की ही पुष्टि करती है

( एमाइ, २६ )

के प्रति

महिपाल सबके प्रति न्याय करता है

( बूंद, १११ )

मुझे अपने अपमान, अपने तिरस्कार, अपनी के प्रति लेशमात्र भी रोष नहीं है - - -

( यादव, ६४ )

के पीछे

दूसरे दिन नगर के समस्त रसिकजन एक मुख से यही चर्चा कर रहे थे कि माधवी एक दिन कोवलन के पीछे अवश्य ही अपने प्राण गंवा बैठेगी

( सुहाग, १४० )

इसलिये मनुष्य कभी - कभी अपने सभी अनुभवों के बारे में शंका करते हुए पूछने लगता है - मैं जो देख रहा हूं वह वास्तव में है या नहीं

( पाश्चात्य, २ )

के बीच

वास्तव में एशिया और अफ्रीका के अनेक नवोदित राष्ट्रों के बीच वस्तु - विनिमय पर आधारित कई समझौते भी हुए हैं

( एमाइ? १३ )

में

अब जीवन में मुझे कोई अनुराग नहीं रह गया है

( चित्रलेखा, १५८ )

यदि परदे न भी उठाये जाते तो भी शायद कमरे की पीले धुंधलेक मे कोई अन्तर नहीं पड़ता

( वैदिन, ३६ ).

के लिये

- - - यह आश्वासन भक्तिन के लिये कोई मूल्य नहीं रखता

( स्मृति, १६ )

उसे अपनी पत्नी और बच्चों से बहुत प्यार था और वह उनके लिये ज्यादा से ज्यादा सुविधाएं जुटाना चाहता था ( राकेश, ५५ )

के विरूद्ध

जाओ वेटा, अधर्म के विरुद्ध अभिमान करो

( चारू, २८६ )

के विषय में

पंचायत में किसकी जीत होगी, इस विषय में जुम्मन को कुछ भी सन्देह न था

( मानसरोवर, १५३-४ )

आदिम समाजों के विषय में जो प्रत्यक्ष अवलोकन किये गये हैं, उन्हें मोटे तौर दो भागों में वांटा जा सकता है

( सामाजिक, ९२ )

के सम्वन्ध में

उसमें छात्रों और छात्राओं के स्वार्थ की वातें सोची जाती हैं और उनके सम्वन्ध में कदम उठाया जाता है

( राह, ४५ )

अव हम उत्म तीनों पद्धतियों के सम्वन्ध में अलग अलग विवेचन करेंगे

( सामाजिक, ९४ )

के साथ

मैंने तुम्हारे साथ अच्छा वर्ताव नहीं किया, और, रानी के साथ तो दुर्व्यवहार ही करता रहा

( कचनार, ३७१ )

से

कलावती ने स्त्रियों से अनुरोध किया

( कचनार, २६६ )

उन्होंने मुझसे क्या - क्या आशाएं लगा रखी होंगी

( चारू, १९७ )

It may be questioned here that since the overlaid grammatical features of activity nouns are indicated by the linking postpositions, why should the activity nouns be assigned these features independently of the postpositions. There are several reasons for the approach adopted here -- (a) knowing the noun, the postpositions can be predicted but not vice versa, and (b) a noun may consist of more than one lexical feature, and not all the lexical features of this noun may be exploited in the language as an activity noun.

Examples have been given earlier in this section and in the previous section to illustrate the occurrence of linking postpositions. The speakers of MSH have practically no choice in the selection of postpositions in the action noun phrases. The absence of any choice in the selection of postposition, in other words their complete predictability, is probably the reason as to why the grammarians as well as the lexicographers make no mention of these postpositions at all. This situation can be contrasted with the adverbial environment where there is considerable amount of freedom in the choice of postpositions after noun without too much effect on the lexical meanings of nouns. This situation has been sufficiently illustrated in the section on adverbs.

Let us take the example of noun लड़का to illustrate the point (b) mentioned above. The lexical meanings of this noun can be indicated in terms of the following features: --

लड़का, + male, + boy, + term of reference, + legal relationship (i.e. adopted son), + blood relationship (i.e. one's own son), + term of address, ...

The noun लड़कपन derived by the addition of the suffix पन to this noun is quite restricted in its lexical meaning and contains only the first two semantic features as illustrated in the following sentences.

लड़कपन में मुझे कभी भरपेट खाना न मिला

राम लड़कपन से ही होशियार है

वह लड़कपन में कुछ कह गया

In the first two sentences it means "boyhood period", and in the third one it has reference to "boyhood period" as well as to "boyishness". As an activity noun in action noun phrases it can only mean "boyishness".

N से लड़कपन कर -

N में लड़कपन आ जा -

N का लड़कपन छूट -

N से लड़कपन झलक -

The compatibility between the lexical semantic features of an activity noun and its overlaid grammatical features as illustrated above does not allow any choice in the interpretation of the grammatical structure of action noun phrases.

2.3. Locus Nouns: The traditional term "indirect object" covers only one of the many relations included in the term locus noun, and is unsuitable for the nouns linked to the activity nouns in action noun phrases. Observe the following sentences with the verb दे - "to give".

उसने मोहन के पक्ष में मत दिया

उसने मोहन के विरुद्ध मत दिया

वह इस बात को बहुत महत्व देता है

उसने हमेशा मोहन का साथ दिया है

उसने मोहन की ओर ध्यान तक न दिया

उसने मोहन की बात पर ध्यान तक न दिया

उसने इस बात पर बहुत जोर दिया है

राम मेरे काम में बहुत दखल देता है

If we compare the above noted sentences with the following, it is easy to see the similarity between मोहन को पुस्तक मोहन को पुस्तक दी on the one hand and मोहन के पक्ष में मत etc. on the other, though the restriction on the choice of animate nouns as "indirect object" does not apply to nouns occurring as locus nouns in action noun phrases.

The only difference between the locus of activity and the "indirect object" of a verb is that the occurrence of the former depends upon the activity noun, and of the latter upon a subclass of verbs.

The above noted sentences also illustrate, though very crudely, the variety of choices possible in the selection of locus nouns. However, the basis of compatibility between a locus noun and its activity noun is of the same sort as between the nouns occurring in double objects. These selectional constraints can be determined within the feature specifications of nouns as given in section on nouns.

## 3. Verbal Concepts Generated by Action Noun Phrases

3.1. The only function which action noun phrases have in MSH is to generate new verbal concepts. This is accomplished by employing with them suitable verbs both transitive and intransitive. The role of verbs in the verbal concepts generated by action noun phrases is very little understood. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss this problem from various angles.

It is generally assumed that there are very few verbs which occur with action noun phrases. This is a false assumption.

Any action noun phrase may occur with one or more verbs. For instance the action noun phrase N पर नजर can occur with the verbs illustrated in the undernoted examples.

N पर नजर जा -

N पर नजर पड़ -

N पर नजर डाल -

N पर नजर रह -

N पर नजर रख -

N पर नजर दौड़ा -

N पर नजर जमा -

N पर नजर मार -

N पर नजर ठहर -

N पर नजर टिक -

N पर नजर हो२ -

All the verbs जा , पड़, डाल, रह, रख, दौड़ा, जमा, मार, ठहर, टिक and हो२ by virtue of their occurrence with the action noun phrase N पर नजर besides acting as its verbalizers, cluster around a single verbal concept which in the above examples is N पर नजर जा - . In other words the action denoted by the verb जा - , i.e., "movement away from a point" is implied by the action noun phrase N पर नजर . Only the verb जा - can be considered as an empty verb (or a true verbalizer verb) with this action noun phrase. The rest of the verbs do add their semantic component to the action noun phrase. Traditional statements about the conjunct verbs, if they have any meaning at all, apply only to N पर नजर जा - but don't say anything about the rest of the verbal concepts mentioned above.

3.2. More examples are given below to illustrate this phenomenon.

सड़क पर मुड़ने से पहले उसने लारेन्तो पर एक आखिरी उड़ती-सी निगाह डाली

( वे दिन, १२८ )

तारा छोटी बड़ी, तीनों अपनी तरफ उठती हुई मर्दानी नजरों को नजर अन्दाज कर और जमाने फैशन पर निगाह दौड़ाती हुई धीरे धीरे आगे बढ़ रही थीं

( बूंद, ७२ )

पर निगाह, डाल, दौड़ा -, - - -

पर दृष्टि , - जा, - रख - ,- जम -, - - -

निधान सुमंतपुरी के पास गया । - - - चेहरे पर दृष्टि गई

( कचनार, ३१४ )

उसने एक सरसरी दृष्टि लिस्ट पर डाली

( वे दिन, ३५ )

मुझे नाना गोसाईं के मठ पर सतर्क दृष्टि रखने का आदेश हुआ

( चारू, २५२ )

मेरी दृष्टि कामिनी पर जमी थी, जो असाधारण उन्मुक्तता से खिलखिला रही थी

( राह, २३ )

पर नियन्त्रण, + हो, + कर, + रह, - रख +, - - -

अथात् उपभोक्तावों का उत्पादन पर नियन्त्रण होता है

( समाइ, ३५ )

- - - तुम केवल इस पूंजी पर नियन्त्रण - भर कर सकते हो

( स० स० ११६ )

- - - जैसे खुद मेरा अपनी टांगों पर, अपने पर कोई नियंत्रण नहीं रहा था - - -

( जलती झाड़ी, ४३ )

अब किसी भी तरह अपने पर नियन्त्रण न रख जा सकेगा

( अनदेखे, ६५ )

N पर प्रभाव, + पड़ -, + डाल, + रह -, + हो, + हो - - -

मुद्रा के प्रवाह में वृद्धि होने का इससे विपरीत प्रभाव होता है

( एमाई, ४१ )

समाज की आर्थिक उन्नति के स्तर का भी मुद्रा - पदार्थ के चुनाव पर प्रभाव पड़ा

( एमाई, १६ )

उनके इस सहज आकर्षण का जनपद के जन पर बड़ा गहरा प्रभाव पड़ता था

( चारु, १०१ )

ज्ञात रूप से इससे अधिक और कोई प्रभाव नहीं पड़ा था रानी मानकुमारी का उन पर

( स० स०, २२६ )

उनका विश्वास था कि मुद्रा का प्रचलन उत्पादन के वास्तविक ढंग पर कोई प्रभाव नहीं डालता

( एमाइ, २६ )

स्त्री, पुरुष, बालक, वृद्ध उन्हें हृदय से श्रद्धा करने लगते थे; फिर उनके दो - एक वाक्य उन पर जादू का - सा प्रभाव डालते थे

( चारु, १०१ )

सास ससुर पर तुम्हारे शब्दों का प्रभाव रहे

( बूंद, ११० )

मुद्रा के प्रवाह में वृद्धि होने का इससे विपरीत प्रभाव होता है

( एमाइ, ४१ )

लोक पर उसका घोर प्रभाव था

( चारू, १६५ )

N पर अधिकार , + कर, - पा, - जमा, हो२- - -

N पर अधिकार कर -

उन्होंने हमारी निजी भूमि पर भी अधिकार कर लिया है

( स० स० १०४ )

- - - और अनन्त निद्रा मुझ पर अपना अधिकार न करले

( स०स० ६४ )

अपना मन रखाते हैं, दूसरे के पूरे मन पर अधिकार करके जरा भी मन इधर उधर गया कि पारा चढ़ा

( चारू, १८३ )

जिन पर जमींदारी उन्मूलन के वाद उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार ने अधिकार कर लिया था

( स०स० ,२८० )

N पर अधिकार पा -

रोशनी में आई तो वह अपनी सारी घवराहट पर अधिकार पा चुकी थी

( अनदेखे, १८ )

माधवी को जव यह पता चला कि वन्द प्रकोष्ठ के तल - गृह में सात पीढ़ियों की गृह - स्वामिनियों का संचित गृह - कोष रखा है, तो उस पर अधिकार पाने के लिये मन - ही - मन मचल उठी

( सुहाग, १६६ )

N पर अधिकार जमा -

अभी गरमी ने ऋतु पर अपना अधिकार नहीं जमा पाया था

( कचनार, २३१ )

मसालाफरोश जी उसके वाद भी ऊपर वाले कमरे और छत पर अधिकार जमाए रहे

( वूंद, ८ )

- - - मगर इस्त्री पर अधिकार जमाना तो जानते ही हैं

( वूंद, ६१ )

N पर अधिकार होर-

- - - हर पुरुष का हर स्त्री पर अधिकार है

( वूंद, ६६ )

उसे ऐसा लग रहा था कि अव तापस पर किसी का अधिकार नहीं है, केवल एक - मात्र चन्द्रलेखा ही उसके साथ वात करने का अधिकार रखती है

( चारू, २५ )

क्या मुझको इस विजय - उपहार पर कोई अधिकार है

( चित्रलेखा, ४८ )

संस्कृत भाषा पर उनका असामान्य अधिकार था

( ज्योति, १७ )

N में रूचि, + ले, + हो, + हो$_2$

N में रूचि ले -

- - - क्योंकि जब लोगों को अपने जेब से टैक्स देना पड़ता है तो वे इसका प्रयोग करने वाली राजनैतिक व्यवस्था में अधिक रुचि लेने लगते हैं - - -

( एमाह, ३६ )

N में रुचि हो, -

नृत्य, संगीत, मदिरा आदि विलास - वस्तुओं से उसने मुंह मोड़ लिया, जैन साधुओं के उपदेश में उसकी गहन रुचि हो गई

( सुहाग, १३६ )

प्रत्येक गुसाई को हथियारों में रुचि होनि चाहिये

( कचनार, २२५ )

N में रुचि हो$_2$-

मुझे मदिरा में कोई रुचि नहीं है - - -

( स० स० २६३ )

वे हैं तो एक वैध, परन्तु उनकी साहित्य में काफी रुचि है और वे आलोचनाएं लिखते हैं

( राह, १६ )

N से सम्वन्ध, + जोड़, + रख, + रह, + हो२- - -

**N से सम्वन्ध जोड़ -**

उसका सम्वन्ध द्वापर युग के प्रसिद्ध सम्राट जरासन्ध से जोड़ा जाता है

( अपनी खबर, ४३ )

अन्यथा आज यह सचमुच का चीनी, सारे इलाहाबाद को छोड़कर मुझसे वहिन का सम्वन्ध क्यों जोड़ने आता

( स्मृति, २० )

**N से सम्वन्ध रख -**

व्यवहार जगत् केवल कार्य से सम्वन्ध रखता है, वुद्धि कार्य के स्थूल ज्ञान से लेकर - - - स्वप्न - कल्पना तक की अनुभूतियां सञ्चित करता है

( साहित्यकार, ३२ )

कुमार संभव तो - - - शिवजी के जीवन से सम्वन्ध रखने वाली अनेक घटनाओं से मंडित है

( ज्योति, २० )

**N से सम्बन्ध रह -**

मुन्नी की निगाह स्थिर है इस दायरे पर जैसे उसका लूसी की पीड़ा से अज्ञात सम्वन्ध रहा हो? - - -

( जलती झाड़ी, ६० )

**N से सम्वन्ध हो -**

इसका तो जीवन के सुदुर्लभ सुधा - मधुर स्वाद से सम्वन्ध है

( अपनी खवर, ६७ )

क्योंकि वासना का सम्बन्ध वाह्य से है

( चित्रलेखा, ७३ )

कविता से मेरा कोई सम्वन्ध है, यह धारणा ही इतनी व्यर्थ थी - - -

( राह, २६ )

N से सम्पर्क, + जोड़, + रह - - -

**N से सम्पर्क जोड़ -**

सूवेदार ने सागर से सम्पर्क जोड़ने की इच्छा से अपने कुछ विश्वस्त आदमी भेजे

( कचनार, २६२ )

**N से सम्पर्क रह -**

वाहर की दुनिया से मेरा सम्पर्क नहीं रहा

## 4. Lexical Properties of Verbalizing Verbs

4.1. In the previous section, we have given examples of the common properties which the verbs share in the environment of an action noun phrase. In this section we shall discuss the general lexical properties of verbalizing verbs which occur with action noun phrases.

4.2. Classes of Verbalizing Verbs: Onomatopoetic verbs do not occur as verbalizing verbs with action noun phrases.

Denominalized verbs also generally do not occur with action noun phrases but a thorough investigation is necessary before such a statement can be made with certainty.

There is no general restriction on the occurrence of the following classes of verbs with action noun phrases:

(a) the verbs ending in -ək
(b) the verbs inherited by MSH from various stages of Indo-Aryan
(c) verb stems created by analogy
(d) verb stems borrowed from Perso-Arabic

4.3. Modification of Lexical Meaning of Verbalizing Verbs: This problem will be discussed in detail in the section on compound verbs. Here we shall explain one very pertinent point about this problem, i.e. the nature of polysemy of verbs as opposed to nouns.

Examples have been given earlier to illustrate that a noun adds to the list of its dictionary meanings by occurring in more and more verbal concepts formed by action noun phrases with the verbalizer verbs. Exactly the opposite of this happens to verbs, i.e. the verbalizer verbs tend to become more and more abstract kind of activities in the environment of action noun phrases. In the following examples, for instance, the first sentence in each pair illustrates some sort of physical activity performed by the subject noun. The semantic definition of such a physical activity depends on the adverb. On the other hand the second sentence in each pair exemplifies the same activity which is no longer dependent on the adverb as in the first instance, and is abstract in nature.

वह पेड़ पर चढ़ गया
उसको नशा चढ़ गया
वह घर चला गया
उसकी इज्जत चली गई
वह कुरसी से उठ गया है
यह रिवाज आजकल बिल्कुल उठ गया है
उसने पुस्तक मेज़ पर रखी है
उसने राम का मन रखा है
उसने राम को पुस्तक दी
उसने राम को दुख दिया

## 5. Selection of Verbalizer Verbs:

5.1. The problem of selection of verbalizer verbs by the action noun phrases has two aspects: (a) distinction between a verbalizer verb and a non-verbalizer verb, and (b) the disparity between transitive and intransitive verbs. It is to these two problems we will address ourselves now.

5.2. The distinction between a verbalizer verb and a non-verbalizer verbcan be made clear by contrasting the following two pairs of sentences:

वह आपके प्रति श्रद्धा कायम रखता है

वह आपके प्रति श्रद्धा रखता है

कोई भी उस पर हाथ नहीं उठायेगा

कोई भी हाथ ऊपर नहीं उठायेगा

In the first two sentences N पर हाथ and N के प्रति श्रद्धा are action noun phrases, and the verbs उठा - and रख are verbalizer verbs. On the other hand the verb रख - in the third sentence is an incomplete verb with the adjective कायम "stable" as its complement, and in the fourth sentence the noun हाथ occurs as an ordinary object of the transitive verb उठा -. For the distinction between object constituent and action noun phrase which is also a variety of object constituent, see the section on object constituent. A general rule can be formulated about the situation illustrated by the second sentence. Such a rule is that action noun phrases do not occur with incomplete verbs. In other words an incomplete verb cannot be a verbalizer verb. More will be said about this problem in the section on complement.

5.3. The disparity between transitive and intransitive verbs is more obvious in the environment of action noun phrases than anywhere else in the language. There are two aspects of this disparity -- (a) related transitive and intransitive verbs like उठा- : उठ-, निकाल- : निकल-, मार- : मर etc. generally act like unrelated verbs and (b) totally unrelated verbs like दे- : मिल-, पा- : मिल-, डाल- : पड़- etc. come quite close to being transitive and intransitive counterparts of each other. Observe for example, the following action noun phrases with the verbs लगा - and लग - respectively.

N पर पांव लगा -

N में कन्या लगा -

N की दौड़ लगा -

N का ध्यान लगा -

N का सहारा लगा -

N का पता लगा -

N में दीदा लग -

N में छूत लग -

N में झिझक लग -

N से शर्म लग -

N से भय लग -

N को अकेलापन लग

N को आघात लग -

N को हवा लग -

N को घबराहट लग -

N को चोट लग -

N को गर्मी लग -

N को सर्दी लग -

N को झटका लग -

N को ठेस लग -

N को डर लग -

N को थकान लग -

N को दोष लग -

N को वात लग -

All the action noun phrases listed with लग cannot occur with the verb लगा- , and those listed with लगा- do not occur with its intransitive counterpart लग- . Similarly the verb मार- the transitive counterpart of मर- occurs with so many action noun phrases which never occur with मर- . A few examples are given below.

N पर नजर मार -

N पर छापा मार -

N पर हाथ मार -

N पर चोट मार -

N पर निगाह मार -

N से बाजी मार -

N को लात मार -

N को ताना मार -

N का दम मार -

N का जोर मार -

A few examples are given below to illustrate how totally unrelated transitive and intransitive come to being quite close to being transitive and intransitive counterparts of each other in the environment of action noun phrases.

N से मार खा -
N से मार पड़ -

N का विश्वास कर -
N का विश्वास आना -

N की आदत डाल -
की आदत पड़ -

N को आदर दे -
को आदर मिल -

## 6. Polysmy of Activity Nouns

6.1. Examples have been given earlier to illustrate the manner in which the meaning of an activity noun varies from context to context. So far we approached the problem from a grammatical point of view only. Now we shall reverse this procedure, i.e. start with semantic definition of nouns as given in MSH dictionaries and try to show correlation between variation in the semantic definitions of nouns and their grammatical environments. While doing so we will at the same time isolate these conditioning grammatical environments to demonstrate the validity of the approach we have adopted. Only on this basis can we visualize the depth to which the analysis of MSH sentences containing action noun phrases can be carried out and gain an understanding of the principles followed by the lexicographers of MSH in compiling their dictionaries.

6.2. If we observe the following sets of examples showing contrast between the linking postpositions पर -कर, से-को, -के बारे में-को, में-से, , पर-करे, को-की[illegible], [illegible] we can easily see that the semantic definitions of all the nouns as listed below differ in two ways, i.e., (a) the two definitions of a noun are systematically related to each other on the basis of their respective postpositions, and (b) all the nouns have a semantic component in common in the environment of a given linking postposition irrespective of the differences or similarities of their verbalizer verbs.

| | |
|---|---|
| N पर विचार कर - | "topic of discussion" |
| N का विचार कर - | "thought" |
| N पर खोज चल - | "research" |
| N की खोज चल - | "search" |
| N पर अधिकार रख - | "hold" |
| N का अधिकार रख - | "right" |
| Nपर मान कर - | "pride" |
| N का मान कर | "reverence" |
| N पर भरोसा रख - | "reliance" |
| N का भरोसा रख - | "dependence" |
| N पर विश्वास कर | "faith" |
| N का विश्वास कर | "trust" |
| N पर रोक लगा - | "ban" |
| N की रोक लगा - | "restriction" |

| | |
|---|---|
| N पर हक रख - | "claim" |
| N का हक रख - | "right" |
| N पर देखरखे रख - | "supervision" |
| N की देखरेख रख - | "looking after" |
| N पर दावा कर - | "lawsuit" |
| N का दावा कर - | "claim" |
| N से परहेज रख - | "abstinence" |
| N का परहेज रख - | "exercise of caution" |
| N से फायदा उठा - | "advantage" |
| N का फायदा उठा - | "use" |
| N से अनुमति ले - | "consent" |
| N की अनुमति ले - | "permission" |
| N से मदद ले - | "aid" |
| N की मदद ले - | "help" |
| N से डर लग - | "fear" |
| N का डर लग - | "apprehension" |

| | |
|---|---|
| N के बारे में चिन्ता कर - | "concern" |
| N की चिन्ता कर - | "worry" |
| N में आशा रख - | "reliance" |
| N से आशा रख - | "dependence" |
| N में अनुराग रख - | "passion" |
| N से अनुराग रख - | "attachment" |
| N पर जोर दे - | "emphasis" |
| N को जोर दे | "pressure" |
| N को साथ दे - | "company" |
| N का साथ दे - | "association" |

| | |
|---|---|
| N से शिकायत हो - | "complaint" |
| N की शिकायत हो - | "ailment" |
| N से पहचान रख - | "acquaintance" |
| N की पहचान रख - | "familiarity" |
| N से राय ले - | "consultation" |
| N की राय ले - | "opinion" |
| N से बदला उतार - | "vengeance" |
| N का बदला उतार - | "recompense" |
| N के बारे में अनुमान लगा - | "surmise" |
| N का अनुमान लगा - | "guess" |
| N के बारे में कोशिश कर - | "endeavor" |
| N की कोशिश कर - | "try" |
| N की बारे में अध्ययन कर - | "to study about a subject" |
| N का अध्ययन कर - | "to study a subject" |

In other words every noun which occurs with, say, the postposition पर receives a semantic definition which is different from the semantic definition it gets in the environment of का and so on. Similarly all nouns which occur with the postposition पर have a semantic component in common which contrasts with the common semantic component of these nouns in the environment of the postposition का etc. The difference in the two or more semantic definitions of a noun and the difference in the common semantic components of groups of nouns belong to two different levels. The latter are, what we have called earlier, the overlaid grammatical features. A systematization of these features can lead to a systematization of the former, i.e. of the lexical polysmy of nouns but not vice versa.

6.3. Earlier we have also mentioned that the native speakers of MSH have very little choice in the selection of linking postpositions with activity nouns, and the occurrence of different postpositions with any given noun constitutes different action noun phrases. But regarding the occurrence of an activity noun with two different postpositions as two different action noun phrases does not solve the problem of polysmy of activity nouns from the lexical point of view. The grammatical basis, in the manner in which we are using the term here, must specify a systematic relationship between the various semantic definitions of an activity noun. This means that an hierarchy among the overlaid grammatical features of all the activity nouns should be established if these activity nouns occur with more than one linking postposition. The establishment of an hierarchic relationship among the overlaid grammatical features coupled with a systematization of the lexical features of activity nouns can be so stated as to permit the generation of all the action noun phrases in MSH. In this manner a statement of the lexical polysmy of nouns becomes an automatic consequence of the rules of grammar.

In an earlier sub-section while listing the overlaid grammatical features of the activity nouns ध्यान etc. we did not maintain any systematic order among these features. Our research upto now has proven that a given activity noun selects one of the several possible postpositions just as the action noun phrase containing this activity noun implies a verbalizer verb. For example the activity nouns अन्याय and प्रेम primarily select the linking postpositions के साथ and से respectively, but at the same time the noun प्रेम will also form action noun phrases with the postposition के साथ and अन्याय with पर . Following sentences illustrate these action noun phrases.

N के साथ अन्याय "injustice"

हमारी सरकार किसी के साथ अन्याय नहीं करती

( स० स० ८५ )

N से प्रेम

राजा शम्शेर वहादुर सिंह से रानी मानकुमारी ने प्रेम किया था

( स० स० ६२ )

N पर अन्याय

N के साथ प्रेम

--- जिसके साथ प्रेम किया जाय उसके चरित्र पर शंका करना बड़ी मारी मूर्खता है

( कचनार, ३४१ )

के साथ अन्याय

आप हम पूंजीपतियों के साथ अन्याय कर रहे हैं

( स०स० ४८ )

आप --- हम लोगों को भरा पूरा बताकर हम लोगों के साथ अन्याय कर रही हैं

( स०स० १४५ )

N पर अन्याय

N पर अत्याचार कर -

राघेश्याम को इस तरह अंदर से हटाये जाने पर महसूस हुआ कि पुलिस जनता पर घोर अत्याचार करती है

( बूंद, ५३ )

स्त्रियों पर निष्ठुरतापूर्वक मयंकर अत्याचार किये गये

( चारु, ६२ )

N के साथ अत्याचार हो -

मैंने पूछा ठीक यही जोश आपको एक स्त्री के साथ होने वाले अत्याचार पर क्यों नहीं आया

( बूंद, १२८ )

N से प्रेम

एक दिन जब राजकुमार राजकुमारी से प्रेम कर रहा था तब अचानक कुतिया ने राजकुमार पर आक्रमण कर उसे काट खाया

( सुहाग, १३० )

वे मुझसे प्रेम करते थे, इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं, परन्तु मैं दासी बनकर नहीं रह सकती थी । अपने नारीत्व का विध्वन्स नहीं कर सकती थी

( कचनार, ३०६ )

साहित्य से मुझे कभी प्रेम न रहा - - -

( राह, ७२ )

आखिर तुमको कविता से उतना ही प्रेम है जितना घास छीलने वाले को वेद के अध्ययन से, या मुझको उन आलोचक महोदय से

( राह, २६ )

को प्यार

मैं भीतर - ही - भीतर कामिनी को प्यार करता था, परन्तु ऊपर से उसको अस्वीकार करता था

( राह, ४१ )

शायद किसी ऐसी लड़की से कभी मुलाकात हो जो मुझे प्यार कर सके

( राह, ८ )

इस अस्वीकृति का करण यह विश्वास था कि कामिनी मुझको प्यार नहीं कर सकती क्योंकि मुझमें कोई खूबी नहीं

( राह, ४१ )

प्रेमिनायकी का वह प्यार उसे इस समय खल रहा था

( सुहाग, ४२ )

In this manner the noun अन्याय as in N पर अन्याय comes very close to अत्याचार as in N पर अत्याचार, and N के साथ प्रेम resembles a great deal with N को प्यार. On the other hand पर and को are the primary postpositions for the nouns अत्याचार and प्यार respectively.

An action noun phrase containing the primary postposition will admit a variety of nouns as locus nouns and will be compatible with many more verbs than an action noun phrase formed with the same activity noun with a postposition other than the primary. This is so because an activity noun when occurring with its primary postposition represents the semantic field of this noun. Observe for instance the variety of sentence co-occurrents of the action noun phrase N के साथ अन्याय N पर अन्याय, N पर N अत्याचार, N से प्रेम, N के साथ प्रे N को प्यार

in the following examples.

When the grammars of MSH list examples of their conjunct verbs like अन्याय कर - and प्रेम कर - etc. they probably mean N के साथ अन्याय कर - and N से प्रेम कर - respectively but not N पर अन्याय कर - or N के साथ प्रेम कर - etc. because only in the environment of primary linking postpositions the semantic fusion between the action noun phrase the verbalizer verb is so strong that the activity noun as well as the verb so put together are taken to be a "conjunct verb".

## 7. Synonymy among Activity Nouns

7.1. There are quite a few nouns listed in MSH dictionaries as synonyms of one another indiscriminately, e.g. भय डर, मृत्यु मौत, क्रोध गुस्सा, जल पानी, टांग लात

The occurrence of these nouns in action phrases can be used as a sure criterion for establishing the semantic identity of these synonyms.

7.2. Below we list a few action noun phrases containing some of these pairs of synonyms with their compatible verbalizer verbs. The verbalizer verbs shared by both the members of a pair of synonyms never overlap completely. The expressions marked with the symbol ( * ) do not occur and indicate the semantic uniqueness among these pairs of synonyms.

भय = डर
N को डर आ -
N को डर लग -

* N से डर खा -
N से भय खा -

N का डर मान -
*N का भय मान -

मृत्यु = मौत
N की मृत्यु हो -
N की मौत हो -

* N की कृत्यु आ -
N की मौत आ -

क्रोध = गुस्सा
N को क्रोध आ -
N को गुस्सा आ -

N का क्रोध उतर -
N का गुस्सा उतर -

* N पर क्रोध खा -
N पर गुस्सा खा -

साहस = हौसला
N का साहस पड़ -
N का हौसला पड़ -

N का साहस रख -
N का हौसला रख -

* N को साहस दे -
N को हौसला दे -

टांग = लात
N में टांग अड़ा -
* N में लात अड़ा -

* N को टांग मार -
N को लात मार -

जल = पानी
* N को जल दे -
N को पानी दे -

N पर जल चढ़ा -
* N पर पानी चढ़ा -

* N पर जल फिर -
N पर पानी फिर -

समाचार = खबर

N को समाचार दे -

N को खबर दे -

* N को समाचार कर -

N को खबर कर -

लाभ = फायदा

N से लाभ उठा -

N से फायदा उठा -

N को लाभ कर

N को फायदा कर -

* N का लाभ उठा -

N का फायदा उठा -

* N का लाभ कर -

N का फायदा कर -

पीड़ा : दर्द

N को पीड़ा हो -

N को दर्द हो -

* N की पीड़ा आ -

N का दर्द आ -

भाग = हिस्सा
N के भाग कर -
N के हिस्से कर -

N में हिस्सा रख -
* N में भाग रख -

N में भाग ले -
* N में हिस्सा ले -

छोर : किनार
* N से छोर कर -
N से किनारा कर -

प्रश्न : सवाल
N से प्रश्न कर -
N से सवाल कर

* N के सामने ( अपना ) प्रश्न रख -
N के सामने ( अपना ) सवाल रख -

रोग = बीमारी
N को रोग लग -
N को बीमारी लग -

* N को रोग पड़ -
N को बीमारी पड़ -

अधिकार : हक
N का अधिकार रख -
N का हक रख -

* N का अधिकार मार -
N का हक मार -

मुख = मुंह
N का मुख देख -
N का मुंह देख -

* N को मुख बना -
N को मुंह बना -

* N को मुख लगा -
N को मुंह लगा -

उत्तर = जवाब
N को उत्तर सूझ -
N को जवाब सूझ -

N को उत्तर दे -
N को जवाब दे -

* N को ( नौकरी से ) उत्तर दे -
N को ( नौकरी से ) जवाब दे -

## 8. Other Properties of Action Noun Phrases

8.1. There are a good many action noun phrases which delimit the transitivity of the transitive verbs with which they occur. These characteristics of action noun phrases are discussed below.

8.2. The verb खा -in the environment of almost all the action noun phrases which occur with it represents their subject as the undergoer of the activity also.

N से मार खा -
N की हवा खा -
N का गम खा -
का जोश खा -
का जोर खा -
का बल खा -
N से घोखा खा -
N से झिड़की खा -
N से रगड़ खा -
N से भेल खा -
N से भय खा
पल्टा खा -
N से ताव खा -
टक्कर खा -
N से घाव खा -
घूंस खा -

N पर तरस खा -
N का नमक खा -
N की कसम खा -
N चक्कर खा -
N झटका खा -

8.3. The opposition between + Animate : - Animate of the subject nouns is suspended in the environment of several action noun phrases.

N को जवाब दे -

N को काम दे -

N का जोर पकड़ -

8.4. Some action noun phrases permit - Animate subject nouns only.

N को दर्द कर -
N में आग पकड़ -
N में जड़ पकड़ -
N का रंग पकड़ -
N को शोभा दे -

8.5. Several action noun phrases do not occur with transitive verbs and are used only with causals of these transitive verbs.

N को ध्यान दिला -
N को यकिन दिला -
N को याद दिला -
N को आशा दिला -
N को विश्वास दिला -
N को स्मरण दिला -

N को आशा बंधा -
N का हौसला बंधा -

8.6. Some properties of action noun phrases pertinent to the formation of causal verbs are mentioned in the section on causal verbs.

## Verbs

1. Verb stems in MSH belong to two distinct classes on the basis of their grammatical function in the language--(a) onomatopoetic, and (b) non-onomatopoetic.

### 2. Onomatopoetic Verbs

2.1. All onomatopoetic verbs are derived by the addition of the verbalizing suffix -a to the onomatopoetic noun.

| | |
|---|---|
| जगमग | जगमगा - |
| झिलमिल | झिलमिला - |
| छनछन | छनछना - |
| धड़धड़ | धड़धड़ा - |
| भड़भड़ | भड़भड़ा - |
| गड़गड़ | गड़गड़ा - |
| गुड़गुड़ | गुड़गुड़ा - |

2.2. These onomatopoetic verbs, so also the nouns from which they are derived, can be divided into several groups on the basis of their phonological composition.

(a) onomatopoetic noun consists of complete repetition:-

| | |
|---|---|
| किटकिट | किटकिटा - |
| टिमटिम | टिमटिमा - |
| खटखट | खटखटा - |
| तड़तड़ | तड़तड़ा - |
| सुड़सुड़ | सुड़सुड़ा - |
| भुनभुन | भुनभुना - |
| तमतम | तमतमा - |
| धकधक | धकधका - |

(b) onomatopoetic nouns consist of repetition with the replacement of the initial consonant by /p, b and m/ in the repeated syllable:-

| | |
|---|---|
| डगमग | डगमगा - |
| सकपक | सकपका - |
| सिटपिट | सिपिटा - |
| तिलमिल | तिलमिला - |

(c) the last consonant of the onomatopoetic noun is repeated before adding the verbalizer -a:-

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| भन | भन्न | भन्ना - |
| फर | फर्र | फर्रा - |
| चर | चर्र | चर्रा - |

(d) the verb stems like the following are also onomatopoetic stems having the element -kar affixed to them:-

किलकार -
पुचकार -
चुमकार -
फुफकार -
फटकार -
ललकार -
फुसकार -
फुंकार -
हुंकार -
टिटकार -
झंकार -
टंकार -

2.3. As we have remarked earlier in the section on nouns, the onomatopoetic nouns do not occur as often as their verbal counterparts.

The onomatopoetic verbs, apart from having a higher text frequency than the nouns, also have a higher list frequency. Compare, for instance, the following pairs of sentences.

उसके दांत किटकिटाते हैं
उसके दांत किटकिट करते हैं

वह दांत किटकिटाता है
* वह $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{दांत}\\ \text{दांतों को}\end{matrix}\right\}$ किटकिट करता है

2.4. The onomatopoetic elements illustrated in section 2.2. (a) and (b) can be analysed further. For instance, the following three onomatopoetic verbs,

गिड़गिड़ा -
गड़गड़ा--
गुड़गुड़ा -

besides the verbalizer -a, and repetition indicating "repetition of the noise", can be analyzed as consisting of the elements:-

g—ṛ, <I>, <ə> and <ʊ>.

Since we have pulled out this information from the MSH dictionaries which neither illustrate their usage nor indicate the sources of their information, it is somewhat difficult to come to a conclusion about the problem without sufficient further investigation. A few more examples of the kind just mentioned are given below.

भिनभिना -
भनभना -
भुनभुना -

किचकिचा -
कचकचा -
कुचकुचा -

In some cases only two way contrast occurs.

भरभरा -
भुरभुरा -

किटकिटा -
कटकटा -

सटपटा -
सिटपिटा -

झिलमिला -
झलमला -

Some sort of regularities are also found in situations where the initial consonant is replaced in repetition of the syllable. The replacing consonant is a labial consonant either /p, b or m/.

| | |
|---|---|
| खटखटा - | "to knock, to tap" |
| खटपटा - | "to wrangle, to make noise by striking two objects" |
| खलखला - | "to rumble, to grumble, to complain" |
| खलबला - | "to bubble, to boil, to be perturbed" |
| जगजगा - | "to sparkle, to shine" |
| जगमगा - | "to glint, to shine, to twinkle" |
| चरचरा - | "to crackle, to sputter" |
| चरमरा - | "to produce a cracking sound" |
| डगडगा - | "to shake, to quiver" |
| डगमगा - | "to stagger, to totter, to vacillate" |

## 3. Non-onomatopoetic Stems

3.1. Non-onomatopoetic stems can be divided into several classes -- (a) derived from the onomatopoetic elements with the addition of -ək, (b) denominalized, (c) created by analogy, (d) borrowed from Perso-Arabic, (e) inherited from various stages of Indo-Aryan, and (f) innovated by MSH.

Below we will discuss and illustrate the various subclasses of non-onomatopoetic verb stems.

### 3.2. Non-onomatopoetic Stems Derived from Onomatopoetic Elements:

All the verb stems in this class are derived by the addition of the suffix -ek to the first syllable of the onomatopoetic element. The derived non-onomatopoetic verbs and their corresponding onomatopoetic stems possess a remarkable similarity in meaning.

For example, observe the following sentences.

चमचमा — :        चमक —

इस समय ठाकुर द्वारा दूल्हे की तरह चमचमा रहा है ( बूंद , १७५ )

रोशनी में उसके सफेद दांत चमचमा रहे थे ( वे दिन , ६६ )

दो चन्द्र - ज्योतियों के बीच माना इहन चमक रहे थे ( सुहाग , १८४ )

रेशम की दुग्ध की भांति सफेद साड़ी वे पहने हुए थीं जो चन्द्रमा के प्रकाश में चमक रही थी ( स० स० १३१ )

टिमटिमा — :        टिमक —

दूसरी परफ लेतना पहाड़ी थी, जिसके ऊपर आंक ज़ुखेटी के तीन लाल सितारे टिमटिमा रहे थे ( वे दिन , १८१ )

दो चार तारे टिमक रहे थे, दिसम्बर की अवसथा रिकतता में ठिठुरते हुए ( वे दिन , ८५ )

फड़फड़ा — :        फड़क

- - - वह ताई इन बिल्ली के बच्चों के लिये न जाने कब से फड़फड़ा रही थी ( बूंद , १९८ )

बार - बार उसका रिबन हवा में फड़फड़ा उठता है ( जलती झाड़ी , ४८ )

लेकिन मैं देख रही थी कि उनके अधर और कुछ कहने के लिये फड़क रहे थे ( चारू , ३४ )

विद्याधर मट्ट में चेतना का ज्वार आगया । रहरह कर उनकी भुजाएं फड़क उठतीं ( चारू , २५१ )

कड़कड़ा — :        कड़क

- - - और वह गूंज समाप्त भी न हो पाई थी कि नई बिजलियां कड़कड़ा उठीं ( सुहाग , २५१ )

तभी आकाश ज़ोर से कड़क उठा ( सुहाग , २५४ )

छलछला —:      छला —

कभी आंखों में आंसू छलछला उठते - - - ( सुहाग , १८८ )

उनका गला भरा-सा आया, आंखों में कातरता छलछला उठी ( जलती झाड़ी , ४१ )

ताई विदा होते हुए रथ को एक पलक देखती रहीं, आंखों में आंसू छलके, फिर फूट पड़ी ( बूंद , ५४३ )

इस बार उनमें मद भी छलक उठा था ( सुहाग , ६५ )

झलझला —:      झलक —

और इस विवशता के बीच सारे संकोच तोड़कर कन्नगी का हृदय नहीं - नहीं के आग्रह भरे निवेदन से उसकी बड़ी - बड़ी आंखों में झलझला उठा ( सुहाग , १५४ )

लेकिन वृद्ध मन्त्री की आंखों में कुछ कुतूहल और परेशानी के भाव झलक उठे ( चारु , २४० )

चिपचिपा —:      चिपक

कन्या ने चट से टोका — हाथ धोइये । चिप चिपाते नहीं होंगे जलेबी से ( बूंद , १२८ )

तब वह दर्शन के कन्धे से चिपक उठती ( अनदेखे , ५४ )

The non-onomatopoetic verb stems ending in -ək can again be divided into two classes, depending upon whether or not their corresponding onomatopoetic verb exists in the language.

The verbs like the following possess a corresponding onomatopoetic verb ending in -a.

| | |
|---|---|
| किलक - | किलकिला - |
| खसक - | खसखसा - |
| खटक - | खटखटा - |
| चहक - | चहचहा - |
| चटक - | चटचटा - |
| छलक - | छलछला - |
| टपक - | टपटपा - |
| तड़क - | तड़तड़ा - |
| तमक - | तमतमा - |
| धमक - | भमधमा - |
| बिलक - | बिलबिला - |
| भड़क - | भड़भड़ा - |
| भिनक - | भिनभिना - |
| लपक - | लपलपा - |
| सुड़क - | सुड़सुड़ा - |
| हिनक - | हिनहिना - |

Many verbs in the above category, i.e., possessing a corresponding onomatopoetic element, have been regarded by Hoernle as derived from Old Indo-Aryan.

| | |
|---|---|
| कड़क - | कड़कड़ - |
| खड़क - | खड़खड़ - |
| चपक - | चिपचिप - |
| चमक - | चमचम - |
| झपक - | झपझप - |
| झलक - | झलझल - |
| ठनक - | ठनठन - |
| थूक - | थूथू - |
| थपक - | थपथप - |
| धड़क - | धड़धड़ - |
| फटक - | फटफट - |
| फड़क - | फड़फड़ - |
| बक - | बकबक - |
| सरक - | सरसर |

There are quite a few other verbs in MSH ending in -ək but with no corresponding onomatopoetic verbs. A few examples of such verbs are given below.

| | |
|---|---|
| अटक - | be hindered, stopped < Sk अट्ट कृ |
| उचक | be raised, rise < Sk. उच्च कृ |
| उबक | vomit < Sk. उद् - वम् कृ |

कसक - be painful, be pained < Sk. कष कृ

चुक - be finished, cease < Sk. च्युत् कृ

चूक - blunder, miss < Sk. च्युत् कृ

चौंक - start (from fright) < Sk. चतम् कृ

छिटक - be dispersed, be scattered < Sk. क्षिप्त कृ

छिड़क - sprinkle < Sk. स्पृष्ट कृ

झटक - to twitch, intr. shake < Sk. झट कृ

झींक - sigh, lament < Sk. शीत् कृ

झुक - nod, bend < Sk. क्षुभ कृ

झोंक - throw, cast < Sk. क्षेप (or क्षप) + कृ

टेक -

ठिठक -

ठमक -

ठसक -

दक -

थक -

थिरक -

दरक -

दहक -

धौंक -

पिचक -

फूंक -

बहक -

रैंक -

रोक -

लुक -
सटक - सड़क -
हग -
हलक -
हांक -
हौंक -

3.3. Denominalized Verb Stems: By denominalized verbs we mean only those verb stems which have been denominalized by MSH either from nouns or from adjectives. A few examples of verb stems in each of these two classes are given below:-

From nouns:

आंक -
अदरा -
अनुमान -
अर्घ -
अराघ -
अरुना -
अलाप - आलाप -
अलसा -
अवलंघ -
कमा -
गंध -
दुख -
पड़ताल -

पूज -
पुलक -
ब्याह -
भरम -
भुगत -
मरोड़ -
मसोस -
मोह -
रंग -
रेत -
लजा -
ललचा -
विचार

शर्मा -
शोध -
सराह -
सह्म -
गूंज -
कूज -
घुघुआ -
चांप -
चकरा -
तहिया -
मोड़ -

हिचक -

Denominalized in MSH from Adjectives.

अलगा -
गरमा -
गहरा -
लंगड़ा -
सठिया -
सूख -
अनुकूल -
दोहरा -
मोटा -
संकरा -
सुस्ता -

3.4. Verb Stems Created by Analogy: The formation of transitive stems from their intransitive counterparts by vowel change is a well-known phenomenon. A reversal of this situation can be observed among the verb stems, mostly intransitive, which have been formed by the process of vowel change from their transitive counterparts. A few such examples have been pointed out by Hoernle viz.,

रुक - < रोक -
भुन - < भून -
पिट - < पीट -
मिट - < मेट -
मुंद - < मूंद -
रुंध - < रूंध -
सध - < साध -

The tendency to create such intransitive verbs is still alive in the language, and can be observed in the following examples:

ढकिल — ढकेल

जब आप ज़िन्दगी के भीड़वाले राजमार्ग पर थके-हारे हुए, भीड़ की लहरों में धक्के खाते हुए, विवश आगे ढकिलते जा रहे हों - - - ( ठेले, २६ )

पुंछ — पोंछ

नीम और पीपल की टहनियां जैसे स्लेट पर खिंची लाइनों की तरह पुंछने लगती हैं - - - ( ठेले, ६६ )

Below we list a few more intransitive verbs which, we believe, are analogically created from their transitive counterparts.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| अंक - | आंक - | सन - | सान - |
| उकस - | उकसा - | सल - | साल - |
| औंट - | औंटा - | सिंक - | सेंक - |
| खिंच - | खींच - | सिंच | सींच |
| खुल - | खोल - | | |
| घुट - | घोट - | | |
| चंप - | चांप - | | |
| चिर - | चीर - | | |
| छप - | छाप - | | |
| छिछ - | छेद - | | |
| जंच - | जांच - | | |
| झिल - | झेल - | | |
| टंक - | टांक - | | |
| टंग - | टांग - | | |
| थम - | थाम - | | |
| नथ - | नाथ - | | |
| पिट - | पीट - | | |
| पुज - | पूज - | | |
| पुत - | पोत - | | |
| पुंछ - | पोंछ - | | |
| पिस - | पीस - | | |
| मुड़ - | मोड़ - | | |
| रुक - | रोक - | | |
| लिप - | लीप, - लेप - | | |
| लुट - | लूट - | | |

3.5. Borrowed Verb Stems: There are a few verb stems in MSH which have been borrowed from Perso-Arabic either by means of denominalizing the Perso-Arabic nouns or by direct verb stem borrowing. Some well-known verbs in this category are given below:

आजमा -
कफना -
खरच -
खरिद -
भिख -
डांट -
तरस -
महक -
मुकर -
टकरा -
दब -
फैल -
बदल -
तराश -
खराद -
झगड़ -
सहम -
सराह -

3.6. Innovated Verb Stems: Among the innovated verbs are those stems which are denominalization of nouns and adjectivies and have been recently introduced into the language. They cannot be called full-fledged verbs because of the lack of their occurrence in the various environments in the sentence structure of MSH. Following sentences illustrate some of these verbs.

व्याप —

अथाभाव का कष्ट उसने बहुत व्यापने न दिया - - - ( सुहाग , २५८ )

स्वीकार —

यह चेलमा के जीवन की विवेशता रही है कि केवल एक को छोड़कर और जो कुछ पास उसे स्वीकार करके भी हृदय से कभी न स्वीकारा ( सुहाग , ४४ )

उच्चार —

दक्षिणा के लालच में आये हुए ब्राह्मण, भिक्खु और क्षपणक अपने-अपने सम्प्रदायों के मंगल-वाक्य उच्चारने लगे । ( सुहाग , १५ )

उडेल —

उनको देख कर अपने आप जो उल्लसित काव्य-धारा उडेल उठती थी वह धीरे-धीरे सूख गई ( चारु , ४४ )

बुढ़िया —

घर बैठे-बैठे तो मेरा मन बुढ़ियाने लगता है ( अंधेरे , २७३ )

संगवा —

उस समय वे अपने सामान को संगवाने में प्रवृत्त दीखने लगीं ( त्यागपत्र , ३४ )

तजवीज् —

आज मौसम ठंडा है, सोच रहा हूं उस उपनगर के लिये कोई खूबसूरत-सी जगह तजवीजं जाकर ( स० स० , २०७ )

मंत्र —

लड़ते लड़ते बिल्लियों का मुंह जब कभी क्षण भर के लिये उनकी ओर घूम जाता तो आंखों की चमक जादू में मंत्री हुई सुइयों की तरह ऐन उनके कलेजे

में चुभकर उसी में गड़ी रह जाती ( बूंद , २० )

सृज --

मन्टोलेपुरी की उसके चिकने काले केशों, सतेज नेत्रों की कमल की पंखुरियों से सृजे गये चेहरे पर दया आई ( कचनार , १७८ )

न्योत --

बस्तीभर को न्योतोगे और अकेली को छोड़ दोगे ( कचनार , १३५ )

होम --

मैं कहां तक अपने प्राण होमूं ( सुहाग , ५४ )

## 4. Voice Distinction of Verb Stems

4.1. Each verb stem in MSH signals a category of voice, i.e., transitive or intransitive. Functions of these voice categories will be discussed in section on causal verbs. Here we shall present a classification of stems in terms of these two categories.

4.2. All onomatopoetic verbs are optionally transitive or intransitive, and should be so listed in a dictionary of MSH. Following sentences illustrate some of these verbs.

यह बात उसे रह-रहकर तिलमिला रही थी ( बूंद , २०३ )

सज्जन इस तरह बेबस और खामोश तिलमिलाता रहा मानो भरे बाजार में किसी ने उसे तमाचा मार दिया हो ( बूंद , २०३ )

हवा गर्म कपड़ों को बेधकर तन को सनसनाने लगी थी ( बूंद , २५० )

समय की गति उस समय सज्जन को कमान से छूटे हुए तीर की तरह सनसनाती हुई लग रही थी ( बूंद , ५१५ )

रोशनदान में फंसा पुराना अखवार बारबार कांपने लगता था - - - जैसे कोई पक्षी उड़ने के लिए बार-बार पंख फड़ फड़ाता हो ( वे दिन

वह ताई इन बिल्ली के बच्चों के लिए न जाने कब से फड़फड़ा रही थी ( बूंद , १६८ )

लेकिन इतनी देर में - - - वह दुबारा बुद बुदाया ( वे दिन , २१ )

सज्जन कुछ न बोला, घृणा से मुंह फेर कर बुद बुदाने लगा ( बूंद , ३५४ )

- - - पर जब कभी सची के सामने उन्होंने उसे भुन भुनाने का प्रयास किया तो सची हंसते-हंसते लोट-पोट होगयी । ( सूरज , ६० )

सज्जन मन-ही-मन भुनभुना रहा था । ( बूंद , ३२० )

सिर्फ प्लेटफार्म की खुली छत के परे न्युएक्टन की रोशनियां अंन्धेरे में चुपचाप झिलमिलाती रहीं

उज्जयिनी का महा-राजप्रसाद अपने स्फटिक मणि के समान कांचन रूप को दो-पहरी की धूप में झिलमिला रहा था ( यादव , १ )

जब कभी बाहर टूरिस्ट एजन्सी की नियान लाइट जलती - - - सामने की दीवार पर लगा हुआ पोस्टर एक क्षण के लिये जगमगा जाता

रात्री के समय रोशनी के लिये गली-कूचों तक में दीपकों के वृक्ष जगमगाये गये

जब कभी हवा का झोंका आता था, उस सूने मकान के दरवाजे खटखटा उठते थे ( जलती झाड़ी , ३७ )

तुम बहुत से दरवाज़ों को खटखटाते हो, खोलते ( वे दिन , १२६ )

- - - लेकिन घर का आर्थिक ढांचा बुरी तरह से चरमरा उठा ( खनदेखे , १२६ )

लेकिन-उसी वर्ष की घटना ने जहां उसके घर का ढांचा एक दम चरमरा दिया ( अनदेखे , १२७ )

अब गोंडों से बैजनाथ का पूरा बदला चुकाऊंगा । घामोनी पर हमारा झण्डा फहरायेगा ( कचनार , २८१ )

प्रमुदित पुरवासी ऊंची ध्वजायें फहराते दौड़ रहे थे ( अपनी खबर )

गले को साफ़ किया, फिर भी जब बोले तो आवाज खंखारती रही — ( जलती झाड़ी , २४ )

खांसते हुये अजी बांचो कह कफ खंखार कर - - - ( बूंद , ४० )

4.3. Denominalized verbs, for the most part, are also optionally transitive or intransitive. A few examples are given below to illustrate these verbs.

लजा --

स्त्रियां मुझे देखकर ऐसी लजा जाती थीं कि उनसे पूछने का साहस ही नहीं हुआ

इस समय पीहर जाकर मैं श्वसुर-कुल को कदापि न लजाऊंगी

ललचा —

घन न होता तो हमीं क्यों उसके लिये ललचाते - - -

माधवी उसकी दासी थी और मित्र भी । वह उसे - - - बनावटी गम्भीरता से उसे अपने से दूर करके ललचाती भी थी

भूल -

कहिये मेजर साहब, कैसे भूल पड़े इस ओर आप इस समय बनाते बनाते वह रेखायें भूल जाती है - - - ( सुहाग, २१६

टकरा -

उसके दिमाग में यह सवाल टकराया ( बूंद, ११० )

बनाते बनाते वह रेखायें भूल जाती है - - - ( सुहाग , २१६ )

टकरा —

उसके दिमाग में यह सवाल टकराया ( बूंद , ११० )

खट-से बैंजल ने अपना सिर सन्ध्या के सिर से टकराया ( अनदेखे , ६५ )

थूक —

मैं उस पर थूकता भी नहीं ( वे दिन , ५७ )

एक निसांस छोड़कर मुंह की पीक थूकने के लिये महिपाल थका हुआ सा उठा ( बूंद , ११० )

खुजला —

मेरे हाथ खुजलाते हैं ( गुरु , १२५ )

उसका वदन खुजला कर उसकी सेवा करने में उसने कोई कसर नहीं की ( गुरु , १२६ )

जीत —

मेरे यहां कोई भी बाहरी टीम जीत ही न पाती थी ( राह , २८ )

अब तक उन्होंने जितने राज्य जीते हैं सब उन्हीं के आशीर्वाद से जीते हैं ( चारु , ५१ )

गर्मा —

माचिस की एक तीली के अभाव ने उसके तमाम अभावों को गर्मा दिया ( बूंद , २१८ )

खामोश रात उनकी गालियों के शोर से उसी तरह खिझला उठी, जैसे भरे जाड़े में किसी ने किसी का सुकून से गर्माता हुआ लिहाफ एक झटके से हटा दिया हो ( बूंद , २० )

भरमा —

- - - अरे यार, क्यों झूठे ख्याल में मन भरमा रहे हो ( बूंद , २१८ )

सात-आठ वर्ष पहले भी एक बार महिपाल को इन भ्रम ने वहुत भरमाया था ( बूंद , २१८ )

क्या आज वे भी पूंजी और व्यक्ति सत्तावादी वातावरण से प्रभावित होकर जनता को भरमाने में ही योग देते रहेंगे ( बूंद , ५८३ )

It may be of some interest to point out here that the transitive:intransitive distinction is being introduced in some denominalized verbs like लहरा — : लहर —, भरमा — : भरम — by dropping the **final** -*a* of these verbs stems, and thus limiting the usage of stems like लहर —, भरम—, to intransitive voice only. Observe, for example, the following sentences.

But such a distinction is not quite established yet because the stem ending in -a is used indiscriminately in transitive or in intransitive voices.

4.4. There is a large class of non-onomatopoetic verb stems which can also be optionally transitive or intransitive.

Some of these verbs like उतर , चढ़ , etc. have their transitive counterparts like उतार , चढ़ा , but the optional transitive usage of the intransitive stems is quite distinct in meaning and scope as is illustrated in the examples at the end of this subsection.

Grammarians of MSH have mentioned a few verbs like लड़- , खेल , बोल-, चल- , etc. which they consider as transitive verbs when they occur with a cognate object. A few examples are:
लड़ाई लड़-, बोली बोल-, खेल खेल-, चाल चल -,
Otherwise these verbs are listed as intransitive in the grammars as well as the dictionaries of the language. Phenomena akin to the occurrence of cognate object can be observed in the extended usage of these intransitive verbs as transitive-intransitive stems. They are mainly (a) regarding the adverbial constituent as an

object, e.g., वह कमरे में घूम रहा है "he is pacing up and down in the room" : उसने सारा कमरा घूम लिया "he took a look all over the room", and (b) activization of the existing "passive" expression, e.g., उसका विचार बदल गया है "his mind has changed" : उसने अपना विचार बदल लिया है "his has changed his mind".

The sentences below illustrate several of these transitive-intransitive verb stems.

उतर --

वह नीचे उतर कर गली के पार चला आया था ( जलती झाड़ी , ६१ )
वह धीमें कदमों से सीढ़ियां उतर गया था ( जलती झाड़ी , ६ )

ऐंठ —

- - - प्रभाशंकर की माता आखें बन्द किये हुये लेटी थीं, उनका मुख मानों पीड़ा से ऐंठ गया हो

ये कवि और लेखक लोग इतने ऐंठे क्यों रहते हैं ( राह , २१ )
कुछ तो मिलते ही देह ऐंठने लगते हैं - - - ( राह , २२ )
बस एक दिन उन्होंने मेरे दुर्वचनों का विरोध किया और मुझे ऐंठ कर रख दिया

कतरा —

माधवी के नयन कतरा गये ( सुहाग , ६५ )
पति ने दृष्टि कतरा ली ( सुहाग , २२१ )

कस —

कचनार को लगा जैसे उसके पैरों में लोहे की बेड़ियां पड़ गई हों और कमरे में सांकल कस गई हो ( कचनार , ३२२ )

सैद्धान्तिक निष्कर्षों को वास्तविक तथ्यों की कसौटी पर कस कर देखना चाहिये ( सामाजिक , ६३ )

खेल —

अनामिका के चेहरे पर अपराधी भाव खेल गया ( अनामिका , ६७ )

कितनी बार उसने प्राणों पर खेल कर हमारी सहायता की है ( चारु ,

दुपहरी में कलावती और ललिता आंख-मिचौनी खेल रही थीं ( कचनार , १६२ )

घूम —

कुछ दिनों के लिये हरिद्वार - ऋषिकेश क्यों नहीं घूम आते, दीवान साहब ? ( जलती झाड़ी , २४ )

मैंने सारा कमरा और बरामदा घूम लिया ( राकेश , १४७ )

केबिन से निकल कर हम मेला घूमने निकले ( मोती , ३७ )

चढ़ —

वह पेड़ पर चढ़ गया

- - - निमी एक-एक सीढ़ी चढ़ रही थी ( अनदेखे , १७ )

पिछले कुछ महीनों से भयंकर यातनाओं की कड़ी चढ़ाइयां चढ़ते चढ़ते वह कठिनाइयों के प्रति ढीठ हो गया था ( सुहाग , २६० )

चर —

पशु खेत में चर रहे हैं

वे कहते हैं कि पशु किसी का खेत चर सकता है, उसे दोष नहीं लगता ( चारु , २८७ )

छू —

उसका सिर बार-बार मेरे मफलर से छू जाता था ( वे दिन , ८३ )

उसने अपने हाथ से मेरे चेहरे को छुआ

जी —

साहित्यकार सृजन के क्षणों में उस जीवन में जीता हैं और पाठक पढ़ने के क्षणों में ( साहित्यकार , २७ )

मैं किसी तरह से जी रहा हूं ( ठेले

कहानीकार - - - इस तरह वात कहता हैं, कि गोया उसने यह सब जिया है - - - ( ठेले , ५१ )

- - - और आज तो मन ही यह होता था कि कोई कुछ न बोले और आज के अतीन्द्रिय सुख को वह फिर फिर जिये ( अनदेखे , ५६ )

झटक —

दिमाग का काम करके भी वेचारों को छिटांकभर घी तक नसीव नहीं, कितने झटक गये हैं ( बूंद , १०६ )

वड़ी ने सिर झटक कर कहा ( बूंद , ६२ )

झपट —

वह कुछ सेना लेकर तुम्हारे ऊपर झपटना चाहते थे ( कचनार , ६७ )

फिर गुसाइयों या गोंडों से धामोनी को झपट लेना है ( कचनार , २८१ )

झांक —

मैं उठा । वाहर वलिन्द में जाकर झांका ( यादव , १३४ )

उनकी आंखों में हल्का-सा विस्मय झांक रहा था ( जलती झाड़ी ५० )

इस बीच में कचनार उसको कहीं से झांक भर लेती थी - - - ( कचनार , ३२७ )

झूल —

लाइब्रेरी की लम्बी खिड़कियों पर पत्तों की बेल झूल रही थी ( जलती झाड़ी , ६८ )

परन्तु चन्द्रलेखा को सबसे कठिन कष्ट उस समय होता जव तपस्वी उल्टा लटक कर झूलता रहता - - - ( चारु , २२ )

बन्दा तो --- जानकी बनकर अयोध्या जी में झूला झूल चुका है ( अपनी खवर

ढक —

इसका फल यह हुआ कि जिनके पास मुद्रा है उनके सव दोष ढंक जाते हैं - - - ( एमाइ , ४४ )

मैंने उन्हें अपने हाथ से ढक दिया ( वेदिन , १३० )

नाच -- --

हमारे इशारों पर मन्त्री नाचते हैं ( सामर्थ्य , )

और लोगों ने भी गाने गाये, भंगड़ा नाचा ( अश्रु )

पलट —

फिर झटके से उसे छोड़कर वह एक दम पलटा ( अनदेखे , ६६ )

इसके वाद तो पासा ही पलट गया ( राह , ३६ )

मंटोले पुरी ने वार्तालाप के प्रवाह को पलटा ( कचनार , ३३० )

फिर —

तुम यदि मुझे बचाना चाहते हो तो मेरे साथ भांवरें फिरो ( सुहाग २०० )

हठ से फिर सात फेरे मन के धधकते यज्ञकुंड के चारों ओर चक्करघिन्नी-से नाच उठे ( सुहाग , २५१ )

बदल —

मैंने उसकी ओर देखा, लेकिन यहां का मौसम बदलता रहता है ( वे दिन , ३४ )

शक्ति का केन्द्र वदल गया है

मुझे अपने जीवन को बदलना होगा

इस लक्ष्यहीनता ने उनके जीवन की धारा को वदल दिया था

उसके जाने के बाद मैं कपड़े वदल कर बिस्तर पर लेट गया ( वे दिन , ३४ )

वोल —

वह दूसरे कमरे से बोल रही थी ( वे दिन , ७१ )

वे होठों में मुस्करा कर एक एक वाक्य बोल रहे थे डाक्टर प्रभाशंकर झूठ वोले थे - - -

भर —

वह उत्साह से भर उठी थी ( राह , ४६ )

उसके मुंह इधर करते ही कमरे में जैसे करूणा भर भर उठी ( ठेले , ६६ )

प्यारी ने आंखे भर के कहा ( गुरु

भूँक —

कुछ दूर पर एक कुत्ता लगातार भौंक रहा था ( राह , १८ )

मर --

मां अपने समय पर ही आयी - - - तव तक निन्नी जाने कितनी जिन्दगियां मर और जी चुकी थी । ( अनदेखे , १३७ )

मसल ---

- - - और हो सकता है कि उसे तुम शिशिर से मसली हुई कमलिनी समझ वैठो ( ज्योति , २८१ )

अव शत्रु की विराट् वाहिनी को हम चुटकियों में मसल देंगे ( चारु ३२३ )

मुरझा --

वड़ी आसानी से वे हंस देते थे, जरा सी वात पर वे मुरझा जाते थे ( सामर्थ्य , ६ )

जो लोग उन पुष्पों को मुरझा डालते हैं वे जीवन के एक अंग को काट डालते है ( कचनार , २८७ )

रच --

कहानियां इधर वहुत सी दिमाग में घूम रही है जव जो रच जाय ( ठेले )

लांघ --

हंसते हुये कोवलन ने देहरी लांघी, प्रकोष्ठ के भीतर आ गया

- - - और अपनी काव्यात्मक शैली का प्रदर्शन करने के उत्साह में अतिशयोक्ति की भी सीमा लांघ गये हैं

सज --

सयत्न सोलहों श्रृंगार सजकर वह नागरत्ना के साथ शिविका पर वैठ कर राजपुरुष से मिलने गई ( सुहाग , २०७ )

समा —

- - - पीड़ा और सुख को डुबोती हुई उमड़ते ज्वार की खुमारी, जो दोनों को अपने में समा लेती है ( राकेश, ११७ )

सोच —

सज्जन सिर झुकाये सोच रहा था ( बूंद , ६६ )
जब कभी मैं यात्रा करने के विषय में सोचता हूं ( राकेश , १० )
बराबर उनकी बताई बातें सोचता आया हूं ( चारु , ३४० )
कन्नगी एकान्त में बैठ कर भविष्य की चिन्ता को सोच-सोच बावली हुई जा रही थी ( सुहाग ,

सुन —

उसे ऊंचा सुनता है
मुझे कुछ सुन पड़ा तो - - -

सो —

वह गहरी नींद सो चुका ( कचनार , ३४६ )
सुमन्तपुरी रात भर बहुत अच्छी नींद सोया ( कचनार , ३२३ )

हंस —

वे खिल खिलाकर हंस पड़ीं
- - - तो मैं मन-ही-मन एक बार उस स्थिति पर हंस लिया था
अनामिका विष-बुझी हंसी हंस पड़ी

राष्ट्रभाषा की अन्यान्य दिक्कुमारियां जिस प्रकार नई प्रकार नई मस्कान हंसने लगी हैं - - - ( निराला , १०५ )

The tendency to use intransitive verbs in the transitive voice as well is motivated by the pressing need for new verbal expressions in MSH. Judging from the number of verbs which have undergone this change in their voice category, one can assume that more intransitive verbs will follow this pattern. A few verbs like अकुला-, असकता-, इठला-, उकता-, चहक-, थिरक-, डपट - etc. which are listed as intransitive verbs in the dictionaries of MSH may have to be classified as transitive-intransitive stems because they seem to answer the criteria of transitivization of intransitive verbs. However, we would refrain from classifying them as such till we can find their usages as transitive verbs.

4.5. There are verb stems which can be labelled as inherently intransitive. They do not have any matching transitive counterparts. A few examples of these verbs are given below.

अखर -
कौंध —
जा —
रेंग —
सहम —
फुदक —
पड़ —
सिधार —
रूठ —

आ —
खल —
जूझ —
लोट —
पछता —
रह —
पधार —
घट —

4.6. Many transitive verbs have matching intransitive counterparts. Such verbs outnumber the verbs in all the other classes of verb stems.

Grammarians of MSH treat them as derived from their intransitive counterparts by a phonological change. The dictionaries of the language also make statements of the form, for example, उतार -is transitive of उतर - etc. The implications of such statements are misleading.

The following examples represent the verbs in this subclass.

| Intransitive | Transitive |
|---|---|
| अटक - | अटका - |
| अड़ - | अड़ा |
| उकस - | उकसा - |
| उग - | उगा - |
| उघड़ - | उघाड़ - |
| उचक - | उचका - |
| उचट - | उचाट - |
| उठंग - | उठंगा - |
| उपज - | उपजा - |
| उबर - | उबार - |
| उमड़ - | उभाड़ - |
| उमग - | उमगा - |
| उलझ - | उलझा - |
| उब - | उब - |

| | |
|---|---|
| कलप — | कलपा — |
| कांप — | कंपा — |
| खटक — | खटका — |
| खसक — | खसका — |
| खिझ — | खिझा — |
| खीझ — | |
| खिल — | खिला — |
| खिसक — | खिसका — |
| खुभ — | खुभा — |
| खौल — | खौला — |
| गुंथ — | गूंथ — |
| गुजर — | गुजार — |
| घसिट — | घसीट — |
| घिसट — | |
| घुस — | घुसा — |
| घूम — | घुमा — |
| चटक — | चटका — |
| चमक — | चमका — |
| चिढ़ — | चिढ़ा — |
| चुक — | चुका — |
| चुभ — | चुभा — |
| | चुभो — |
| छक — | छका — |
| छटक — | छटका — |

4.7. Some verbs are inherently transitive, and have no matching intransitive counterparts. A few examples of the verbs in this subclass are as follows:-

Non-causative Transitive

आज़मा -
आलाप -
आलोड़ -
उड़ेल -
उगाह -
उलीच -
कमा -
कुरेद -
कोड़ -
खर्च -
खसोट -

रो - गुहार -

इस प्रकार रूपक साथ माधवी (ध-मार्ग पर अपना रथ छोड़ रोती-गुहारती नागरत्ना और अपनी मणिमेखला को लेकर बड़े बड़े कुलवंतों की हवेलियों वाली गली में पैठी - - - ( सुहाग, १६३ )

यों तो भाई मुझे भी मारता-पीटता था - - - लेकिन वह जब मेरी मां को मारता और वह अनाथ्म बिलखा रोती-रिरियाती - - - (अपनी खबर, २४)

रो--चीख -

इन दास-दासियों को मैंने रोते-चीखते नहीं सुना (बाहर , ४८)

रो - धो -

वह दिन-रात यही रोना-धोना, न खाना न पीना, मैं तो समझाते-समझाते दुःखी हो गई, बेटा ( सुहाग , ४९ )

In both the situations as illustrated above, the meaning of the primary verb determines its compatibility with the related verb. A few more sentences are given below with the verbs लड़ -, जान- , देख - and लिखा -to show the compatibility between a primary verb and its related verbs.

अपना -
आज़मा -
आलाप -
आलोड़ -
उड़ेल -
उगाह -
उलीच -
कमा -
कुरेद -
कोड़ -
खर्च -
खसोट -
गंवा -
गांठ -
गाह -
चांप -
चाह -
जता -
जोह -
झंकार -
झिड़क -
झेल -
टटोल -
टोक -

Some inherently transitive verbs are sometimes intransitivized. Since the intransitivization of transitive verbs is dependent on statable grammatical conditions, these verbs cannot be listed in the dictionary of MSH as transitive-intransitive verbs.

## 5. Reinforced Verb Stems

5.1. Any non-onomatopoetic verb stem may be juxtaposed with a reinforcer stem.

Reinforcer stems are of the following types.

(a) related verbs

(b) a-reinforcers

(c) derived echo reinforcers

5.2. Related Verbs: Related verbs are independent verb stems which follow the primary verb, and belong to the same general area of activity.

It is necessary to distinguish between belonging to the same general area of activity and the semantic similarity between a primary verb and its reinforcer. Observe, for example, the following two sentences with the verb रह -

असल में स्वरूपों यानी ठकुरों के रहने-सोने का प्रबन्ध अलग ही हुआ करता था
( अपनी खबर , ६३ )

केवल वे ही ग्रीक और मिस्र व्यापारी सेठ अमहोज के साथ रह गये जो वर्षों से
भारत की भूमि पर ही रह-बस गये थे - - - ( सुहाग , १२० )

In the first sentence the verb रह means "to stay temporarily" and in the second "to live". The verb सो- "to sleep" is compatible with the verb in its first meaning, and the verb बस- "to inhabit" is compatible with it in its second meaning. On the other hand both सो- and बस- do not belong to the same general area of activity of each other. Both the reinforced stems रह-सो- and रह-बस- in the above sentences, though formed out of the verb रह- are unique concepts and should be glossed "to stay overnight" and "to settle (e.g., in a foreign land)". There is another occurrence of the verb रह- (- - - केवल वे ही ग्रीक और मिस्र व्यापारी सेठ अमहोत के साथ रह गये) in the second sentence where it means "to be left, to remain". In this latter meaning this verb is incompatible with both सो- and बस-

The above examples with the verb रह- illustrate one aspect of the notion "belonging to the same general area of activity". This can be termed as generation of new verbal concepts with the reinforcer verbs. The other aspect can be labelled as "generation of verbal concepts with different nuances of meaning". This situation is illustrated by the following sentences with the verb रो- which is followed by its related verbs गुहार -, घिघिया -, चीख -, धो -, . The reinforced stems रो-गुहार-, रो-घिघिया-, रो-चीख़ and रो-धो- , as their respective glosses indicate, represent a variety of concepts generated in this manner.

लड़ - झगड़ -

आज आवश्यकता लड़ने - झगड़ने की नहीं, बल्कि मिल - जुलकर काम करने की है, - - - ( राह , १७ )

लड़ - बोल -

- - - ये लोग छायाओं की तरह जोर - जोर से लड़ते - बोलते --- ( अनदेखे , ११५ )

लड़ - भिड़ -

- - - - लेकिन सबसे लड़ - भिड़कर यहां अकेला पड़ा रहता है (अनदेखे, २३)

जान - मान -

नागर जी का, उत्तम शिक्षक के नाते, काशी में आदर था । बच्चे - अच्छे जानते - मानते थे ( अपनी खबर, १०६ )

जान - परख -

एक दिन इन्हीं आंखों ने जाने - परखे बिना तुम्हारे इस अनुपम सौन्दर्य को उपेक्षा की दृष्टि से देखा था ( सुहाग, १६२ )

जान - पहचान -

- - - बहुत दिन पहले सुने हुए रिकार्ड की जानी - पहचानी ट्यून, जो चारों ओर फैली घास के तिनकों पर बिखर गई है - - - ( जलती झाड़ी १०१ )

जान - बूझ -

ललिता ने जान - बूझ कर मानसिंह को अपने पैर की आहट [illegible] ( कचनार, १६४ )

देख - भाल -

- - - कन्नगी अकेले हाथों पिता की हवेली का सारा प्रबन्ध देखती -

मालती थी ( सुहाग, १२४ )

देख-- समझ -

मैंने उन्हें पीछे किया, स्वयं ही कोई ऐसा स्थान ढूंढने लगा जहां से छिप कर सब कुछ देखा - समझा जा सके ( चारू, ४३३ )

देख - सुन -

समझदार देख - सुनकर सीखता है, इस देश की बुद्धि भी जड़ हो गई है ( चारू, ४०७ )

हिला - खटका -

कलावती ने अपनी चौकी हिलाई - खटकाई ( कचनार, १५३ )

हिला - झुला -

ललिता मन्ना के पास गई और कन्धा पकड़कर हिलाया - झुलाया ( कचनार, २०७ )

जान - मान -

रूप के हाट की सभी जानी - मानी वार - बनितायें कावेरीपट्टणम् के सुविख्यात वैभव को सार्थक करने योग्य उत्तम - से - उत्तम वस्त्रा भूषणों से अलंकृत थीं ( सुहाग, २३ )

जान - मान -

नागर जी का, उत्तम शिक्षक के नाते, काशी में आदर था । अच्छे - अच्छे जानते - मानते थे ( अपनी खबर, १०६ )

मान - जान -

ये लोग तो खैर माने - जाने नीच हैं ( बूंद, १२५ )

लुक - छिप -

कोवलन बहुत लुक - छिपकर आ रहा था ( सुहाग, ५७ )

छिप - लुक -

इस बीच में वह छिपे - लुके एक दो बार धामोनी हो आया था ( कचनार२१

Some related verbs do not occur as independent verbs.

सज - धज -

एक दिन माधवी के साथ इस समय सज - धज कर ठाठ दिखाने वाला वह व्यक्ति भी इसी तरह समुन्द्र - तट पर दिखाई पड़ेगा ( सुहाग, २३१ )

सज - बज -

सजे - बजे सुन्दर बैलों वाले शोभनीय रथों पर - - - ( सुहाग, ६ )

हिल - डुल -

शायद इस लिये कि वह बिना हिले - डुले बिलकुल खामोश खड़ा था ( जलती झाड़ी, ८८ )

मिल - जुल -

- - - चौड़ा माथा, बड़ी आंख ज़रा छितराया हुआ नथना कैसे मिलते - जुलते हैं ( कचनार, १८५ )

उलट - पुलट -

यहां सब कुछ उलट - पुलट गया मालूम होता है ( त्यागपत्र, ७४ )

बच - खुच -

माधवी के पात्र से ही बची - खुची पी कर - - - ( सुहाग, ४६ )

Some primary verbs do not occur except before a related verb.

तुड़ - मुड़ -

कागज़ तुड़ - मड़ कर उनके हाथों में चिन्दी हो गया ( त्याग पत्र, २४ )

A transitive verb permits a transitive related verb and an intransitive verb an intransitive related verb.

5.3. a-Reinforcers: a-Reinforcers are similar to the a-causal forms of verbs (see the section on causal verbs), and are, therefore, limited to the verbs which form their causals by the addition of the suffix -a.

मिल - मिला -
पढ़ - पढ़ा -
चल - चला -
लिख - लिखा -

The transitive as well as the intransitive stems of the verbs which have four forms, e.g., दिख-, देख-, दिखा-, फिर-, फेर-, फिरा-, फिरवा-, have the same form as an a-reinforcer.

दिख - दिखा -
देख - दिखा -
फिर - फिरा -
फेर - फिरा -

Some verbs have no a-causal forms.

फट -, फाड़ -, फड़वा -
मुड़ -, मोड़ -, मुड़वा -

The a-reinforcers with the above verbs can occur with the intransitive stems only, though their a-causal forms like * फटा and * मुड़ा

फट -फटा -
मुड़ - मुड़ा -

non-existent in the language. On the other hand the transitive stems like फाड़- and मोड़- have no a-reinforcers.

The verbs like टूट-, तोड़-, तुड़ा-, तुड़वा-, छूट-, छोड़-, छुड़ा-, छुड़वा-, permit a-reinforcers with the transitive stems only.

तोड़ - तुड़ा -
छोड़ - छुड़ा -

On the other hand the verb फूट-, फोड़-, फोड़वा - which is partially like टूट - and छूट - etc. does not permit a-reinforcer either with फूट - or with फोड़ -

A few sentences illustrating a-reinforcers are given below:

उनकी छावनी में कचनार सरीखी भागी - भगाईं कितनी स्त्रियां होंगी ( कचनार, २०६ )

वे सब चीजें एक बसे - बसाए घर की हो सकती हैं —इस पर विश्वास नहीं हो सका ( वे दिन, २२२ )

इतिहास - विधाता के किए - कराए पर वह ऐसा फंदा डाल देती है कि कभी - कभी दुनिया ही बदल जाती है ( चारु, १०५ )

मैं ऐसा अनगढ़ पत्थर जिसमें रूप नहीं, रेखा नहीं । और न ही निकट भविष्य में कुछ बनता - बनाता ही दिखाई देता है ( अपनी खबर, २२ )

कोवलन के साथ बिताए अपने रीझने - रिझाने के क्षण भी सुरति में बसते - बसते अब पड़ चुके थे ( सुहाग, १३४ )

5.4. Derived Echo Reinforcers: Derived echo reinforcers are formed by means of vowel change or consonant change in the verbs stems, e.g., खा- खू - or खा - बा -. There is more than one pattern of formation of echo reinforcers, probably depending upon or based on the regional dialects in the areas using MSH.

One such pattern of formation of echo reinforcers, which we believe is used throughout the Western Hindi area, is described below.

(a) Replace /i, e, o/ by either /a or u/. Examples:

पी पा - पी पू - पीस पास - पीस पूस
दे दा - दे दू - खेल खाल - खेल खूल
सो सा - सो सू - बोल बाल - बोल बूल

तुल तल -
सुधर सधर -
उतर बतर -

A few sentences illustrating the occurrence of echo reinforcers are given below.

अर्थी को फेंक - फांक कर वे लोग किले लौट आये ( कचनार, ११८ )

जिनके पास कुछ न था वे तीर - कमान और कुल्हाड़ी लेकर घने जंगल में सघन नालों में जा छिपे और चिड़ियां मार-मूर कर अपना पेट पाल उठे ( कचनार, ६१ )

परन्तु वे डांटते - डपटते बहुत हैं, छोड़ - छाड़कर इधर चला आया ( चारु, २१४ )

चेलम्मा झूमते - झामते दूसरे दालान के सिरे तक पहुंच गई थी (सुहाग४६)

The use of both the a-reinforcers and the derived echo reinforcers is relatively rare in the printed literature of MSH.

As specified above, the meaning of the primary verb determines its compatibility with the related verb, such reversed sequences of verbs are different reinforced stems. The sentences given below illustrate the contrastive differences between the pairs of reinforced stems.

पढ़ - लिख -

मेरी बुद्धि मन्द तो नहीं थी, परन्तु पढ़ने - लिखने में मेरी तबीयत बहुत लगती नहीं थी ( राह, १ )

लिख - पढ़ -

कहते हैं सिर में घाव पैदा होने से काफी पहले से उन्हें लिखने - पढ़ने का शौक था ( अपनी खबर, ७० )

लिख - पढ़ -

उनका उत्तर आते ही आपको लिख - पढ़ देंगे ( कचनार, ८२ )

जाग - जी -

इस पूर्णता से कि वह सनातन धर्म तो अब पुनः जागने - जीने वाला नहीं जिसके सरगना ब्राह्मण लोग थे ( अपनी खबर, १२ )

जी - जाग -

कुप्पी-दिये, लम्प लालटेन और बिजली के सम्मिलित प्रकाश में टिमटिमाती हुई, सैकड़ों के विलास की जीती - जागती निर्जीव -सामग्री सी फैली हुई गलियों में गुज़रते हुये राजा बहादुर के मन में परिचित - अपरिचित के भिन्न भाव आ - जा रहे थे ( कुं, १४ )

(b) Replace /a/ by /u/, and /u/ by /a/. Examples:

घम्भाठ घम्भूठ -
वना वनू - आ - ऊ - ऊ खा -
कूरणा करणू - फूल फाल -

There is some dispute about the phonological significance of accent (i.e., the stress accent) in NSH.

Devanagari equivalents of Roman symbols used in the rules are
i = ई, e = ए, o = ओ, a = आ, u = ऊ, ɛ = ऐ, ɔ = औ,
I = इ, ə = अ, U = उ.

Note in the accented positions, the short and long vowels show significant contrasts in the language.

(c) Replace both /ɛ, ɔ/ by /u/. Examples:

फेठ फूठ
डौंट डूट

(d) Replace /I/ by either /ʊ or ə/, /ə/ by /ʊ/, and /ʊ/ by /ə/. Examples:

खिठ खठ - खिठ खुठ -
मिठ मुठ - मिठ मुठ -
वन वुन -
पकड़ पुकड़ -
सम्हल सुम्हल -

Paired Transitive: Intransitive Verbs

1. The grammars as well as dictionaries of MSH list the paired verbs like उठ - : उठा - etc. characterizing the latter as the transitive counterpart of the former. Such a characterization of these paired verbs implies that the lexical similarity between उठ - and उठा - , i.e. the analysis of उठा - as consisting of the stem उठ - and the suffix , converges with their grammatical categories as -NP and +NP respectively. The grammatical categorization of verb stems as +NP (i.e. transitive) and -NP (i.e. transitive) is an independent variable because the paired verbs may or may not share the same environments. For example, the verbs उठ - and उठा - , apart from sharing some common environments as illustrated by the following pair of sentences, occur in other

सभा में यह प्रश्न कई बार उठा है

"This matter has been raised in the meeting many times"

उसने सभा में यह प्रश्न कई बार उठाया है

"He has raised this matter in the meeting many times"

environments which they do not share with each other. Thus the maximum number of possibilities of environments of paired verbs are three. They are indicated in the following table.

| | $\text{Environment}_1$ | $\text{Environment}_2$ | $\text{Environment}_3$ |
|---|---|---|---|
| $\text{Verb}_{+\text{NP}}$ | + | + | - |
| $\text{Verb}_{-\text{NP}}$ | + | - | + |

These three possibilities of environments can be regarded as sub-categories of the grammatical environments of primary secondary and tertiary levels of lexical content of verbs.

2. In the section on action noun phrases a few examples were given to illustrate the disparity between transitive and intransitive members of a few paired verbs. A few more examples are given below illustrating only the mutually exclusive environments of some paired verb stems.

उसमें छात्रों और छात्राओं के स्वार्थ की बातें सोची जाती हैं और
उनके सम्बन्ध में कदम उठाया जाता है ।

( राष, ४८ )

In that, matters of the self-interest of the students are considered and steps are taken in connection with them.

खंना जी - - - धूप में हिरण के पास जाने का कष्ट क्यों उठाते !

( गोदान ९६ )

Why would he take the trouble to go near the deer in the sun?

तिस्ता के उसपार हिमालय की पर्वत - श्रेणियां उठ रही थीं
जिनके नीचे दक्षिण में दूर क्षितिज तक घना - सा जंगल फैला
हुआ था ।

( स० स०, २२२ )

The Himalayan mountain range steadily rose from that side of Tisn: below which is the south, a fairly dense jungle extends in the distant horizon.

क्यों कि इस जगह पर कुछ हारने का सवाल ही नहीं उठता है

( स० स०, ३८१ )

Because the question of loosing anything...does not arise at all at this place.

कुछ थोड़े से लोग ही इन सहूलियतों का फायदा उठा सकेंगे ।

( स० स०, २०९ )

Only a few people will be able to profit by those facilities.

उतार -: उतर -

शायद कोई स्त्री आरती उतार रही है रोहिणी नदी की

( स० स०, १२९ )

धीरेन्द्र मुस्कँरा रहा था, यद्यपि उसका चेहरा उतर गया था

( राह, २५ )

Dhirendra kept smiling, although his face had fallen.

राम को मोतिया उतर आया है

Ram had devoloped a cataract.

लाला मुकुन्दीमल की बात - - - काग्रेसी राज की बेईमानी पर उतर आयी ।

( बूंद, ४० )

Lala Mukandimal's discourse came down to the dishonesty of the Congress administration.

जब वह कुटिल नीति पर उतर आई तो - - - ।

( सुहाग, १९६ )

When she ultimately came to cruel behavior ...

बैठा -: बैठ -

कब सिर पर डण्डा बैठा देंगे, कुछ कहा नहीं जा सकता ।

( बाण, ३५ )

You never know when he will club you on the head.

आपके लिये यह सब कठोर बैठेगा ।

All this will be too difficult for you.

ललिता के नृत्य में बड़ा चमत्कार था, उसका सौन्दर्य भी आकर्षक था, परन्तु कुछ विशिष्ट व्यक्तियों के मत से टक्कर में माधवी कुछ बीस ही बैठाती थी ।

( सुहाग, २४ )

There was great splendor in Lalita's dance, her beauty was also alluring; but in the opinion of some important people, Madhuri in comparison was somewhat better.

एक पेशवा - राघोबा - अंगरेजों के हाथ में बैठ गया ।

( कचनार, ६० )

One Peshava Raghoba came into the grip of the English.

लगता है, उसके चले जाने के बाद भी यह आवाज़ पीछे छूट गई थी- अपने में अलग और सम्पूर्ण ।

( वे दिन, ६ )

It seems that this sound had been left behind even after she left, distinct and complete in itself.

छोड़ -: छूट -

धीर शर्मा की रक्षा करने का भार मुझ पर छोड़ो ।

( चारु, २४६ )

Leave the burden of protecting Dhira Sharma on me.

इसी से देश की सेंट्रल वैंक आथारिटी मंदी काल में अतिरिक्त क्रयशक्ति वाजार में छोड़ती है।

Due to this the nation's Central Bank ( एमाइ, ४१ )
Authority releases extra buying power into the market in a period of recession.

मैंने तो आज तुम्हारे आने की आशा ही छोड़ दी थी।

( स० स०, ५७ )

I had given up hope that you would come today.

शिकार करने का इरादा मैंने छोड़ दिया है।

( स० स०, २१४ )

I've changed my mind about going hunting.

छोड़िये श्री मकोला जी इस वात को।

( स० स०, ११६ )

Please, Mr. Makola, forget about this.

आप - - - मुझे अपने भाग्य पर छोड़ दीजिये।

( स० स०, १७१ )

Just leave me to my fate.

वह सव आप मेरे ऊपर छोड़ दीजिये।

( स० स०, १६७ )

Please, leave all that to me.

किन कारणों से उसने इस जंगल के एक वहुत वड़े भाग को सुरक्षित छोड़ दिया है।

( स० स०, २ )

For what reasons did he leave a very great part of this jungle undisturbed?

फैला -: फैल -

भिखारी सड़क पर कपड़े फैला या गलियों में हाथ पसार कर भीख मांगता है

( अपनी खबर, २० )

The mendicant begs for alms, spreading his cloth in the street, or raising his hands in supplication in the alleys.

धीर शर्मा को छुड़ाने का हम लोगों ने तिहरा जाल फैलाया था ।

( चारू, २७४ )

We had concocted a threefold plot to free Dhira Sharma.

---- वह टांगे फैला कर, दीवार का सहारा लगाकर मेरे विस्तर पर वैठ गया ।

( वे दिन, ३० )

He spread his legs and, with the support of the door, sat down on my bed.

दु:ख भोजन - वस्त्र के प्रत्यक्ष अभाव से लेकर परतन्त्रता, उपेक्षा, अप्रतिष्ठा आदि की अप्रत्यक्ष भावना तक फैल गया है ।

( साहित्यकार, २८ )

Misery extended from the obvious lack of food and clothes, to the intangible presence of dependence, neglect, insecurity, etc.

माकरोनी और तली हुई मछली की गन्ध कारीडोर के एक सिरे से दूसरे सिरे तक फैल रही थी ।

( वे दिन, ११ )

The smell of macaroni and fried fish was spreading from one end of the corridor to the other.

लगा -: लग -

वह अपनी सफलता या असफलता मुद्रा में ही लगाता है

( एमाइ, ३३ )

He measures his success or failure in terms of money.

मैं ऐसे भिक्षुओं को मुंह नहीं लगाती

( गोदान, ४६ )

I don't care for such beggars.

राम को फल अच्छे लगते हैं

The fruits taste good to Ram

मुझे उसका स्वर सहमा - सा लगा - - - जैसे वह आंतकित हो

( वे दिन, १६८ )

His voice sounded shakey to me as if he were distressed.

ढाल -: ढल -

उसकी देह ढल गई है ।

He (his body) is worn down.

उसने अपने आपको ढाल लिया है ।

He has developed himself.

We believe the examples given above are sufficient to establish the relevance of the phenomena of divergence between lexical similarity and the grammatical categorization of paired transitive and intransitive verb stems in MSH grammar. The data we have about the problem is so little that we must refrain from saying anything further in this respect.

It may also be mentioned here that onomatopoetic, denominalized and deadjectivalized verbs do not belong to the c of paired verbs.

# Verbal Endings

## 1. Tenses of the Finite Verb

1.1. The grammarians of MSH, not only disagree among themselves about the nature of the grammatical categories, they also disagree about the number of tenses of the finite verb. So before presenting a systematic statement on the grammatical categories, it is necessary to establish the exact number of the tense-forms.

The disagreement about the number of tense-forms is mainly about (a) the interpretation of the tenses formed with the infinitive and (b) whether the explicator रह - can be considered as an aspect marker. Below we shall discuss these two problems.

1.2. Along with the so-called periphrastic tenses consisting of a verb stem with perfective or imperfective ending plus the auxiliary verb, e.g. गया है, जाता है etc., it is necessary to interpret जाना है etc. also as tense-forms of the finite verb. If such an interpretation is valid, it will increase the total number of the finite verb tenses from 17 to 22 as listed later in this section.

According to the traditional grammarians, both native and non-native alike, and some recent technical descriptions of the language as well such an interpretation is unwarranted. Some grammarians (for example, Guru, 313 and Sharma, 79 and 97) prescribe that the verbs हो - (without making any distinction between हो$_{१}$- and हो$_{२}$- in this environment) and पड़ combine with the infinitives as explicators. Guru interprets the occurrence of the infinitive before हो - as a noun and Sharma as an adjective. Their use of the term compound verb is misleading. What they really mean by the use of this term is that there is a parallelism between infinitive plus sequences and their so-called conjunct verbs. Compare, for instance, the following two sentences:

उसे जाना होगा

उसे दु:ख होगा

According to these grammarians दु:ख हो - is a conjunct verb, and so also is जाना हो -

It seems that these grammarians have missed the fact that there are some tense restrictions on the sentences like उसे जाना होगा with no corresponding restrictions on the sentence उसे दु:ख होगा . The total number of tenses which can occur in the former sentence including होगा is five, i.e. जाना होगा, जाना हो, जाना होता, जाना था, जाना है whereas in the latter sentences all the tenses except those of the imperative and the hortative moods can occur. In other words the underlying structure of the former sentence is not like उसे दु:ख होगा but like the sentence उसे दु:ख होना होगा as far as the tense-endings are concerned. On the basis of this evidence, it is appropriate to interpret जाना

plus auxiliary at par with गया plus auxiliary and जाता plus auxiliary as tenses of the finite verb.

However, these infinitive tenses should not be confused with infinitive plus हो, sequences as illustrated by the following two sentences.

फिर केवल हमारे देश में ही माताएं नहीं हैं, अन्य ऐसे देशों में भी हैं जहां उन्हें और भी उत्तरदायित्व संभालने होते हैं

( महादेवी, ७३ )

इस लिये तुम्हें कुमारगिरी का शिष्य बनना उचित होगा ( चित्रलेखा, ६ )

The verb हो, - when preceded by an infinitive, as in the first sentence, permits only two tenses of this verb, i.e., होता है and होता था . In the second sentence where हो - is an incomplete verb all the tenses of the finite verb can occur. For an interpretation of the structure of such sentences, see the section on non-finite verbs.

1.3. The interpretation of रह as a tense-ending along with the perfective and imperfective endings with the verb is also an ill conceived interpretation. Observe the following sentences:

राम घर जा रहा है

राम घर गया है

राम घर जाता है

The grammarians who subscribe to this view do not regard रह - , i.e., the verb stem alone, as an aspect marker. They rather consider the verb रह - plus the ending of the perfective ( रहा may symbolize this disregarding the gender and number variations) as an aspect marker.

The interpretation of रहा as an aspect marker is wrong on two counts -- (a) it is based on some supposed restrictions on the tenses after the explicator रह - , and (b) it assumes that the explicator रह - can occur with all the verbs in all the grammatical environments. Below we give examples which contradict these two assumptions.

Observe the following sentences where the explicator रह -occurs with those very tense-endings which the interpretation of रहा as an aspect marker expressly disallows.

ज्ञान शंकर स्तव्ध हो रहे

मैं जव यह वात सोचता हूं तो हत-वुद्धि हो रहता हूं

चलिये आप थोड़ी देर लेट रहिये

वहुजी, पैंसो की चिन्ता न करो, फिर मिल रहेंगे

- - - कि जैसे मैं गुलावों की घाटियों में चल रहा होऊं

Such examples abound in the writings of MSH writers all over the Hindi-speaking area. It is also correct that there are some tense restrictions after the explicator रह - when it is preceded by verbs other than statives. For distinction between stative and non-stative verbs, see the section on the non-finite perfective.

The assumption that the explicator रह - occurs with all the verbs in all the grammatical environments where the perfective and the imperfective tenses are permitted is also not true. The implication of this assumption is that रह - does not only occur after every possible primary verb in compounds but also occurs after every subsidiary verb where it is commutable as a tense-form (i.e. रहा - ) with the perfective and the imperfective aspects. The latter part of this implication is so obviously impossible that it is not worth discussing. However, we give some examples below where the occurrence of रह - as an explicator after the main verb will yield non-sentence.

- - - जो आदमी पांच वर्ष तक अफसर रह चुका है

* - - - जो आदमी पांच वर्ष तक अफसर रह रहा है

गंगा नदी हिमाल्य पर्वत से निकली है

* गंगा नदी हिमाल्य पर्वत से निकल रही है

For more discussion of this problem see the section on compound verbs.

## 2. Grammatical Categories of the Finite Verb

2.1. Below we list all the 22 tense-forms of the finite verbs along with the labels as given by Greaves, Guru and Sharma.

| | Tense-Form | Greaves | Guru | Sharma |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | गया होता | past contingent perfect | पूर्ण सकेतार्थ | past contingent |
| 2. | गया होगा | presumptive perfect | संदिग्धभूत | past presumptive |
| 3. | गया हो | contingent perfect | सम्भाव्य भूत | past potential |
| 4. | गया था | past perfect | पूर्ण भूत | past perfect |
| 5. | गया है | present perfect | आसन्न भूत | present perfect |
| 6. | गया | indefinite perfect | सामान्य भूत | indicative past |
| 7. | जाता होता | past contingent imperfect | अपूर्ण संकेतार्थ | present contingent |
| 8. | जाता होगा | presumptive imperfect | संदिग्ध वर्तमान | present presumptive |
| 9. | जाता हो | contingent imperfect | संभाव्य वर्तमान् | present potential |
| 10. | जाता था | past imperfect | अपूर्ण भूत | habitual past |
| 11. | जाता है | present imperfect | सामान्य वर्तमान् | indicative present |
| 12. | जाता | indefinite imperfect | सामान्य संकेतार्थ | frequentative past<br>present contingent |
| 13. | जाना होता | no label | no label | no label |
| 14. | जाना होगा | no label | no label | no label |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15. | जाना हो | no label | no label | no label |
| 16. | जाना था | no label | no label | no label |
| 17. | जाना है | no label | no label | no label |
| 18. | जाना | imperative | no label | imperative |
| 19. | जाइयेगा | no label | परोक्ष विधि | future imperative |
| 20. | जा | imperative | प्रत्यक्ष विधि | present imperative |
| 21. | जायेगा | absolute future | सामान्य भविष्यत् | indicative future |
| 22. | जाये | contingent future | संभाव्य भविष्यत् | optative future |

The labels for the various tense-forms as reproduced above do not represent some kind of names given by these grammarians for the purpose of identification. Except Sharma, whose work is probably the most confused grammar of MSH ever written and impossible to understand, we can easily infer the dimensions of grammatical categories used by the other two grammarians. The dimensions used by Greaves are as follows:

(a) Tense: -- Past: Present: Future

(b) Aspect: -- Imperfect: Perfect

(c) Mood: -- Indefinite: Contingent: Presumptive: Imperative. Within the Imperative he has imperative proper and hortative as well as gentle imperative. The complex designation *absolute future* contains the term *absolute* for the sake of showing contrast between contingent future and the future proper (i.e. the absolute future).

The system of dimensions used by Guru is somewhat more complex. He has the undernoted dimensions.

(a) काल, defined as a bi-dimensional category indicating tense समय as well as aspect (अवस्था)

Tense involves past (भूत), present (वर्तमान) and future (भविष्यत्)

Aspect includes ? (सामान्य), imperfect (अपूर्ण) and perfect (पूर्ण)

Guru's examples of अपूर्ण वर्तमान (imperfect present) and अपूर्ण भूत (imperfect past) are वह चल रहा है and वह चल रहा था respectively. Later on he asserts that these are not tense-forms and have been given for the sake of completing the time and aspect dimensions.

(b) Mood (अर्थ) : Absolute (निश्चयार्थ) presumptive (संभावनार्थ) dubitative (संदेहार्थ) imperative (आज्ञार्थ) and contingent (संकेतार्थ)

Guru presents two way systematization of tenses on the basis of काल and अर्थ and finally seems to treat अर्थ (mood) as a primary dimension within which, as we can infer from his discussion, the time and aspect dimensions of काल operate.

Both the grammarians have posited almost the same dimensions of the grammatical categories but differ from each other as to the so-called simple and periphrastic tenses can be uniformally systematized. Greaves manages to get out of this problem by treating the aspect involved tenses separately from the aspect not-involved tenses. Guru treats the mood as a primary category within which the time and aspect dimensions operate. Thus Guru's interpretation of grammatical categories, what ever it is worth, is uniform, and has important implications for a thorough going systematization of the grammatical categories.

It is easy enough to infer that Guru has completely ignored the distinction between simple and periphrastic tenses. For Guru each one of the sixteen tense-forms listed by him is a unit which contrasts with every other such unit. In other words the auxiliary verb is nothing but a suffix-carrier element, and therefore, the contrast between ता - ता है in जाता and जाता है cannot be understood in terms of absence versus presence of है but in terms of the forms -ता and - ता है interpreted as units. This is an important implication of the point of view adopted by Guru, and cannot be ignored in a systematization of the grammatical categories of the MSH verb . We shall take up this matter again after we have discussed the nature of the various dimensions of categories posited by the grammarians.

2.1. We have pointed out above that both Greaves and Guru almost agree with each other about the nature of tense-categories, i.e., they have both tense, aspect and mode categories. Within the category of tense three tenses past, present and future are recognized, and thus the category of aspect is interpreted as working within these three tense categories. We can represent Guru's formulation by the following rules:

[ + Tense ] ----> [ ± Past ]
[ - Past ] ----> [ ± Present ]
[ + Past ] ----> [ ± Perfective ]
[ + Perfective ] ----> [ ± Simple ]
[ + Present ] ----> [ ± Perfective ]

By comparing Guru's classification of endings on the basis of the category of tense with that on the basis of mood, it can be seen that he has posited the aspect dimension only in the absolute ( निश्चयार्थ ) mood. Greaves' systematization seems to be more adequate than Guru's on this point. Since Guru's classification is traditionally widely accepted, it is necessary to explain the role played by the categories of tense and aspect in the system of grammatical categories of MSH.

Let us for the moment disregard both Guru's and Greaves' systematizations of tense categories, and see how many different ways the future time is expressed by the endings. Observe the following sentences in which quite a few different endings express various shades of the future time. The number at the end of each sentence refers to the tense-endings as listed in section 2.1 above.

पान्सा के साथ -ही - साथ इस वार पेरिनायकी भी भाग रही थी (४)

( सुहाग, १७५ )

हमारे शिविर में वह तभीतक रह सकती है जव तक कि हमने उसको काशी या किसी अन्य तीर्थ में सुविधापूर्वक रहने की व्यवस्था नहीं कर पाई हैं ( ५ )

( कचनार, १८३ )

- - - और, कचनार को उनके पंजे से मुक्त किया जाय, वह और कहीं हो ही नहीं सकती, परन्तु गुसाईं बहुत हैं, वाहर निकलकर उनके ऊपर आक्रमण किया और उन्होंने हमारा विध्वंस किया (६)

( कचनार, १६६ )

दो-तीन दिन के अन्दर ही पानी बरसेगा - इस बार वर्षा जल्दी आई (६)

( स० स० २१४)

मैं थोड़ी देर में तुम्हारे एकान्तवास का प्रवन्ध करता हूं (११)

( कचनार )

- - - मैं तुम दोनों को पुलिस के हवाले करती हूं ( ११ )

( अपने खिलौने २०० )

यदि कल आप मेरे साथ चलते, तो वह काम अवश्य हो जाता ( १२ )

(गुरू, ४६३ )

महाराज को सविनय संकेतिक सलाह देते हुए उन्होंने अपने पत्र में यह भी सुझाया कि उक्त पवित्र धन का उपयोग भी यदि नगर के व्यावसायिक पुनर्संगठन के लिये हो सकता तो उनके स्वर्गीय सम्बन्धी की आत्मा को परम शान्ति लाभ होता ( १२ )

( सुहाग, २०६ )

Now we give below a few examples of the occurrence of the so-called future ending. This ending does not indicate future time at all in these sentences.

वनाएंगे सिनेमा के पोस्टर और वातें करेंगे स्टूडियों की - - - अरे, तुम आर्टिस्ट लोग इतने सपने न देखो, तो क्या विगड़ जाए

( अनदेखे, १८ )

भाइयों की वात ही क्या, यहां तो लड़कों से भी नहीं पटती और पटती इसीलिए नहीं कि मैं किसी की कुचाल देखकर मुंह नहीं वन्द कर सकता । तुम जुआ खेलोगे, चरस पीओगे, गांजे के दम लगाओगे, मगर आये किसके घर से ?

( गोदान, २४ )

The indication of a past event by the so-called future ending, and the indication of a future event by the various endings usually interpreted to contain no reference to the future time, as illustrated above, prove that the dimensions tense versus mood are not the primary dimensions. Instead the aspect versus non-aspect is the primary dimension. Greaves' analysis, if looked at from the point of view of the opposition aspect versus non-aspect, is certainly closer to the reality. Another point which comes out of the comparison of the abovenoted sentences is that there is no one specific tense-ending indicating the future time, and the so-called tense-ending indicating the future time, and the so-called future of traditional grammarians is also a purely modal category which may or may not contain any reference to the future time.

Now we illustrate some of the usages of the so-called contingent future of Greaves and संभाव्य भविष्यत् of Guru.

झुनिया - - - - बाहर निकले तो चारों ओर से वाग्बाणों की ऐसी वर्षा हो कि जान बचाना मुश्किल हो जाय ( २२ )

( गोदान, १२३ )

जिस गृहस्थी में पेट की रोटियां भी न मिलें, उसके लिये इतनी खुशामद क्यों ?

( गोदान, १ )

महिपाल ने कंठी को झिड़क कर कहा - न कुछ समझे न बूझे, बेकार की टांग अड़ाता है, दवा ऐब दवा - - - (२२)

( कुं, ३६ )

कंकड़ फें किए तो विन्ध्याचल प्रचण्ड पहाड़ के आंगन में गिरे

( अपनी खबर, ३६ )

All the above sentences illustrate a range of usages of the so-called contingent future; some have a reference to the past time only, others are ambiguous. The tense form (22) like the tense form (21) is also a purely modal form which may contain a reference to a particular time, and such a reference is accidental to the category of mood.

2.2 So far we have established the following points about the system of grammatical categories of the MSH verbal endings:

(a) the traditional grammarians in their systematization of grammatical categories have ignored the distinction between simple and periphrastic tenses.

(b) the opposition aspect versus non-aspect is the primary dimension, and

(c) there is no particular tense-ending which contains reference to future time exclusively.

The point (c) should not be regarded to mean MSH tense-endings do not or cannot indicate future time. Our assertion is quite an opposite one. All we want to say is that the dimension of time (or tense) is limited to distinguishing between past versus non-past as a signficant feature, and the future is not such a category in the system.

The next thing we would like to consider is the interpretation of tense-forms (1) [illegible] गया होता and (7) जाता होता as past contingent perfect and past contingent imperfect respectively by Greaves. Guru's labels for these two tenses are and अपूर्ण संकेतार्थ respectively. The nature of the tenses (1) and (7) can be understood by answering two questions (a) Do these tenses contain any reference to time? and (b) If not, are these modal tenses or not? Below we shall try to answer these two questions.

Greaves has labelled both of them as past, which means that according to him the answer to question (a) is yes. Guru, however, is non-committal. According to Greaves, these two tenses "are apparently only used when the condition is represented, as not having been fulfilled (or if there be a negative in the conditional clause, then as having been fulfilled)." To this statement of Greaves we can add these two tenses do not occur in environments which are incompatible with negation. For instance the sentence frames ज्यों ही - - - त्यों ही - - - , and जैसे ही - - - तैसे ही - - - are two such environments which are incompatible with negation. Following sentences illustrate the usages of the tenses (1) and (7) in the sense they have been explained by Greaves.

अन्त में उसने तय किया, कलावती के सामने कायदे का ही बर्ताव किया होता तो अच्छा होता - - - ( १ )

( कचनार, २१० )

Both the above sentences represent events "as not having been fulfilled" in the past. The following sentences illustrate the usage of these two tenses where they indicate fulfillment or non-fulfillment in the future.

उसे ऐसी स्त्री की भी कामना रही, जो केवल मनोविनोद और क्रीड़ा के लिए होती, जो जीवन के आदि से अन्त तक केवल प्रेयसी वनी रह सकती और जिसके प्रति पुरुष कर्त्तव्य के कठोर वन्धन में न वंधा होता ( १ )

( महादेवी, ६४ )

परन्तु यदि यही क्रिपा पालतू तेंदुये से कराईं जा सकती होती - - - ( ७ )

( दवे पांव, ७३ )

The above two sentences prove that the tenses (1) and (7) represent an event which is contrary to what is expressed, and the reference to past or non-past time is an accidental feature of the environment. Therefore we can say that the answer to one question (a) is no.

The use of term contingent by these grammarians refers to the environments in which these two tenses occur, i.e., the conditional sentences. These conditional sentences can be considered as containing two components -- (a) a condition and (b) its consequence. The relationship between a condition and its consequence can be understood as if X then Y, i.e., if condition X is fulfilled then the consequence Y is true. All the four examples given above illustrate the occurrence of these two tenses in the clauses which represent condition and not the consequence of those conditions. Following sentences illustrate the occurrence of these tenses in clauses which represent the consequences of the conditions expressed in them.

वह भली-भांति जानती थी कि कोन्लन के पास रहने के कारण वह और उसकी बेटी अब तक सुरक्षित हैं, अन्यथा उनका सर्वनाश हो चुका होता

( सुहाग, १८० )

मेरे सामने लौहार्गल-युक्त विराट कपाट और सशस्त्र रक्षक न होते तो मैंने उस चांदनी रात में इस विशाल राजकुल को एक घना जंगल ही समझा होता

( बाण भट्ट, २१ )

The fulfillment or non-fulfillment of a condition or a consequence of a condition should be distinguished from "speaker's opinion about the relationship between an event and its performer" (i.e., the category of mood). In other words the use of the tenses (1) and (7) is limited to counterfactual statements which are cuite different opinions expressed by the speaker of a sentence. Compare the abovenoted sentences with the following examples thich illustrate assumed conditions.

यदि मेरे प्राण देने से पति का मंगल होता हो तो मैं प्राण देने को तैयार हूं

( गुरू, २६६ )

इतनी कड़ी बात को इस प्रकार कह गया, मानों महामाया कोई पतित स्त्री रही हों और और भी पतित हो गई हों

( बाण, २०५ )

Since the tenses (1) and (7) contain no reference to time, and they have nothing in common with the tenses which involve the category of mood, we suggest they should be labelled as tenses indicating status. The category of status represents an event as a counterfactual statement in the form of a condition or as a consequence of a condition.

2.3. In sub-section 1.2. we have explained the necessity for positing infinitive plus auxiliary tenses in the language. Now we will try to establish the common grammatical categories involved in these tenses so that these tenses can be fitted along with the rest in some sort of systematization.

The manner in which we have listed the tenses in the table in sub-section 2.1 implies that the infinitive tenses (13 to 18) belong in between the aspectual tenses (1 to 12) and the non-aspectual tenses (19 to 22). The tenses (19 to 22) are purely modal tenses and the tenses (1 to 12) are primarily aspectual tenses. The tenses (13 to 18) are neither aspectual nor modal but indicate an event which in the opinion of the speaker is likely to happen. In other words these tenses involve an indication of the likelihood of the happening of an event without any committment as to whether the event takes place or not. Briefly we shall label the dimension of indication of likelihood as indicative.

## 3. Grammatical Categories of the Finite Verb

3.1. Having clarified some preliminary difficulties, we can now systematically present the rules of grammar relating to the grammatical categories.

[ + End ] ----> [ ± Aspect ]
[ + Aspect ] ----> [ ± Perfective ]
[ + Perfective ] ----> [ ± Status ]
[ - Perfective ] ----> [ ± Status ]
[ - Aspect ] ----> [ ± Indicative ]
[ + Indicative ] ----> [ ± Status ]
[ - Status ] ----> [ ± Mood ]
[ + Mood ] ----> [ ± Presumptive ]
[ - Mood ] ----> [ ± Tense ]
[ + Tense ] ----> [ ± Past ]
[ - Indicative ] ----> [ ± Injunctive ]

[ + Injunctive ] ----> [ ± Hortative ]
[ - Injuncitve ] ----> [ ± Presumptive ]

Below we describe the abovenoted categories.

*Aspect* indicates completion or non-completion of a narrated event without any reference to the speech event or to the speaker. + *Perfective* indicates the absolute completion, and - *Perfective* (or Imperfective) an incomplete or a continued narrated event.

Within - *Aspect*: + *Indicative* indicates a narrated event which in the opinion of the speaker has a likelihood of happening versus - *Indicative*, i.e., purely modal forms.

Within + Perfective, - Perfective, and + Indicative: + Status indicating the quality of a narrated event, i.e., negative, without any reference to the speech event or the speaker, and - Status.

Within - Status, there are categories which are + Mood or - Mood. The categories which are - Indicative are all + Mood only. All + Mood categories indicate the speaker's viewpoint about the narrative event and its participants.

Within - Indicative: + Injunctive (indicating that the narrated event is imposed on the performer by the speaker) versus - Injunctive. Within + Injunctive, + Hortative (signaling that the imposition of an event is an appeal or request) vesus - Hortative (or imperative)

Within - Injunctive and + Mood of the - Status: + Presumptive signalling the participation of the subject-noun in the narrated event as an assumed certainty versus - Presumptive indicating that the participation of the subject-noun is an assumption without any element of certainty.

Within - Status, the categories which are - Mood are + Tense (indicating the relationship between a narrated event and a speech event) versus - Tense (indicating no such relationship).

Within + Tense: + Past (signalling a narrated event anterior to the speech event) versus - Past (implying no such reference).

3.2. The above description completes a systematization of the grammatical categories of the finite verb on the basis of the four primitives, i.e., the speech event versus narrated event and the participant of the speech event versus the participant of the narrated event.

What we have described in section 3.1. are the dimensions of categories of the narrated event itself without any description of the categories of participants of the narrated event, i.e., the categories of voice, person, gender and number. A description of these categories is given in the appropriate sections.

3.3. We have systematically outlined the grammatical categories of the finite verb above. Now we shall take up the various ± Aspect categories along the dimensions ± Status, ± Mood and ± Tense to illustrate the contextual realization of these categories.

The opposition + aspect versus - aspect is to be interpreted as presence of the category of aspect versus absence of the category of aspect. All the tense-forms are sub-divided along this opposition into two groups i.e. tense-forms (1 - 12) and tense-forms (13 - 22). Among these two subgroups the former sub-divides further into forms (1 - 6) and (7 - 12) on the basis of the opposition ± Perfective, and the latter into (13 - 18) and (19 - 22) on the basis of the opposition ± Indicative. There can be other ways in which a sub-division between these tense-forms can be arrived at but the one we have chosen to make is based on the fact that the tenses which are + aspect refer to actual happening of an event versus the tenses which are - aspect and contain no such reference. Such a distinction can be made clear by comparing the usage of the underlined tenses in the following five sentences.

यदि राम आया तो मैं उसे कहूंगा

"If Ram comes (i.e. completes the act of coming), I will tell him"

यदि राम आता है तो मैं उसे कहूंगा

"If Ram comes (i.e. usually comes here or is coming), I will tell him"

यदि राम को आना है तो मैं उसे कहूंगा

"If Ram comes (i.e. if there is a likelihood of Ram's performing the act of coming), I will tell him"

यदि राम आयेगा तो मैं उसे कहूंगा

"If Ram comes (i.e. my assumption about Ram's performing the act of coming is correct), I will tell him"

यदि राम आये तो मैं उसे कहूंगा

"If Ram comes (i.e. if Ram chooses to come which he may or may not), I will tell him"

As the above examples illustrate the difference between the tenses (1 - 12) and (13 - 22) is one of kind, and the difference between the tenses (1 - 6) and (7 - 12) on the one hand, and between (13 - 18) and (19 - 22) on the other is that of a degree.

All the + aspect tenses, as indicated above, are subdivided further on the basis of the opposition + perfective versus - perfective. We have also mentioned above that the difference between + perfective and - perfective is not of kind. By this we mean that - perfective includes + perfective but the reverse does not hold. So the two terms of this opposition can be respectively represented as + perfective versus ± perfective, i.e., committment as to absolute completion of an event versus no committment as to absolute completion. The following sentences illustrate the contrast between + perfective and - perfective.

अपनी पत्नी का चेहरा बार-बार उसकी आंखों के सामने घूम जाता

( १८४ )

रेलिंग से टिकी-टिकी ही वह फिर घाटी की तरफ घूम गई

( २०० )

देखूं - - - । दिवाकर ने उसकी मुट्ठी से छुड़ाकर उंगली को अंगूठे और उंगली से सहलाय

( २०३ )

दिवाकर का हाथ कभी उसके साटन के ब्लाउज़-ढंकी पीठ को सहलाता, कभी रोयेंदार गर्दन को

( २०४ )

मैं अपने घर और पड़ोसी परिवार की तुलना करने लगता हूं

( ३२४ )

यह हीरेन बहुत ही ज्यादा लिबर्टी लेने लगा है

( १९६ )

जब भी उस बात की याद लेखा को आ जाती है तो अपने-आप दांत पिस जाते हैं - - -

( १९९ )

दिवाकर को हीरेन का रिमार्क याद हो आया और ऐसी कोई बात लेखा को भी याद आ गई ( २०० )

The difference between tense-forms (13 - 18) and (19 - 22) can be characterized along the dimension + indirect involvement of the subject-noun versus ± indirect involvement of the subject-noun in the narrated event. What is common to both sets of forms is the speaker's viewpoint. The following pairs of sentences illustrate this contrast.

तुम्हारे दावे से हमें इनकार नहीं किन्तु दस मोर्चों के पार किले के दरवाजे पर भी हमें सिपाहियों की एक दीवार खड़ी करनी है

( सह्यादि, ४६ )

हम बुर्जों के सामने अपने पौरुष की दीवार खड़ी करेंगे

( सह्यादि, ७४ )

The dimension + indicative versus - indicative as defined earlier with the implied dimension of + indirect involvement versus ± indirect involvement enables us to understand the significance of concord between the subject or object noun and the verb. The occurrence of ने with the subject-noun of transitive verbs in the + perfective tenses, and the occurrence of concord between the subject or object noun are, therefore, not entirely accidental features in the language from the point of view of the ± indirect involvement of the subject-noun in a narrated event. By saying that concord and ने are significant in the language, we do not mean that these features belong in the deep grammar of MSH. They simply point out the importance of distinction between + animate and - animate nouns on the one hand and the difference between transitive and intransitive verbs on the other. In the section on action noun phrases we have pointed out that the contrast between + animate versus - animate nouns does not operate in that environment. We can go a step further and say that the dimension ± animate of nouns is really + animate versus ± animate, and with loss of neuter the feminine versus non-feminine gender of + animate noun was imposed on the - animate nouns. It is well-known that the tenses (1 - 12) of the finite verb are all non-finite in origin to which can be attributed the necessity of gender concord between the subject or object noun and the verb. But the occurrence of the postposition को with the subject-nouns of verbs with the + indicative tenses and the optional occurrence of concord between the - animate subject-nouns and intransitive verbs point out the + indicative tenses are relatively recent in origin, whatever their source or grammatical necessity may be.

In view of the characteristics of the + indicative tenses discussed above, the interpretation that these tenses involve an imposed event does not seem to be correct. Compare the two renderings of the following sentences in English.

समाज को किसी-न-किसी दिन स्त्री के असन्तोष को सहानुभूति के साथ समझ

कर उसे ऐसा उत्तर देना होगा

( महादेवी, ६४ )

"* The society, some day after realizing the dissatisfaction of the woman, will have to give her such an answer"

"(It is my assumption that) the society will some day, on realizing the woman's dissatisfaction, give her such an answer"

तुम्हें अपनी बात का प्रमाण देना होगा , महाराज ने कन्नगी के आवेश को काटकर कहा

( सुहाग, २१४ )

"*You will have to give an evidence for what you are saying ...."

"(I assume that) you will give an evidence for what you are saying ..."

## 4. Contextual Variants

4.1. With this discussion of the three dimensions of ± aspect, ± perfective and ± indicative, we can now understand the working of the dimensions of status, mood and tense within the above three generic dimensions, at the same time showing the relevance of the relationship we have posited among these three categories as implied in the rules given in sub-section 3.1.

4.2. We have already explained that the tense-forms गया होता, जाता होता, and जाना होता are not modal forms. The - t with हो- in these forms is probably the imperfective suffix, and these three tenses are in fact imperfective forms of the perfective, the imperfective and the indicative. The grammatical category + status, i.e. the negation of an event in ± perfective and + indicative which is characterized by this suffix, therefore should be distinguished from the tense form (12). Compare the following three sentences containing the tense-forms (1), (7) and (13) with the sentence containing the tense-form (12).

तुमने इनके सिर पर हाथ न रखा होता तो आज इनकी न जाने क्या गति होती

( मानसरोवर, १-२३ )

भैया ने जिला न लिया होता तो आज या तो मर गये होते या कहीं भीख मांगते होते

( मानसरोवर, १-३२ )

जब तुम्हें अपने मन से नहीं जाना है तो फिर मैं जाने को क्यों कहूं ? तुम्हें रोकना होता, तो रोक न देते ? तुम्हारे सामने ही तो गये होंगे

( मानसरोवर, १-२६ )

और उस दिन, इतवार की उस सुबह कम्पनी बाग में यदि कोई उसे देखता तो उसकी आखें उस पर ऐसी अमिट छाप छोड़ जाती, जो किसी अदृश्य छाया की भांति उससे चिपटी रहती

( कहानी, १७८ )

4.3. The category + status is incompatible with the verb हो when it is + [-perfective]. This verb therefore has no tense-form * होता होता . Also the compound verbs, in which the main verb has the imperfective ending and the explicator is + [-perfective], e.g., जाता रहता, पढ़ता जाता etc., are incompatible with the category of status. Therefore the tense-forms like * जाता रहता होता, पढ़ता जाता होता do not exist in MSH. These restrictions have important implications for the relationship between simple and compound verbs which cannot be stated without further investigation of the problem.

4.4. The category of mood ± presumptive is compatible with + aspect categories as well as - aspect categories. The tense-forms (2, 8, 14 and 21) are + [+ presumptive] and the tense-forms (3, 9, 15 and 22) are + [- presumptive]. We shall discuss the contrast between + presumptive and - presumptive first in the + aspect tenses and then in the - aspect tenses, maintaining the order in which these tenses have been introduced in the rules.

4.5. The opposition + presumption versus - presumption, besides differing in the degree of certainty involved in the assumption about the happening of a narrated event, also implies a reference to the time of its happening in + perfective aspect. Compare the following pairs of sentences.

मुझे आश्चर्य हुआ कि सुबह-सुबह वहां मुझसे कौन मिलने के लिए आ सकती है । मगर फिर सोचा कि हो सकता है नीलिमा आई होगी कि मैं चलकर उसकी प्रैक्टिस देख लूं ।

" ....... But then I thought, it is impossible that Nilima would have come (and she left) ......."

- - - - । मगर फिर सोचा कि हो सकता है निलिमा आइ हो कि मैं कर उसकी प्रैक्टिस देख लूं

( अंधेरे, ४७४ )

" ....... But then I thought, it is possible that Nilima may have come (and she is still there) ........"

आइये, अन्दर चलें ।

चलिये ।

यहां मैं आपको चाय आकर कर सकती हूं ।

बहुत शुक्रिया ।

वसुदेव कोई पन्द्रह मिनट बैठा होगा । अशु की दासी ने चाय तैयार कर दी

( अशु, १३१ )

" ....... Vasudev probably sat there for about fifteen minutes ......."

- - - क्षण भर को उसे लगा, जैसे मुन्नु ही बड़ा होकर उसके बैठा हो

( कहानी, १८५ )

"....... Momentarily he felt as if Munnu, having become a grown-up boy, was sitting in front of him.

कल रात मे पत्ते फुटपाथ से उड़कर सीढ़ियों पर आ ठहरे होंगे

( जलती झाड़ी, ६ )

माला की मीठी वातों से यों लग रहा था जैसे हमारे अपने ही हल्के का कोई वेतकल्लुफ़ दोस्त कुछ दिनों के लिए हमारे आ ठहरा हों और उसकी वड़ी-सी गाड़ी हमारे दरवाजे के सामने खड़ी हो

( कहानी, २६१ )

There is difference in the contrast between + presumptive and - presumptive in the last pair of sentences. In the former two pairs + presumptive implies termination of the event before the speech event whereas the - presumptive has no such implication. Both आ ठहरे हों गे and आ ठहरा हो in the last pair of sentences imply non-termination of the event but differ from each other in terms of the taking place of the event in remote past versus taking place of the event in the proximate past.

A reference to the past time, as illustrated above, is incidental to the completion of an event indicated by + perfective.

Compare the above sentences with the following where assumption is the prominent feature, and the sentences differ only in the degree of certainty involved in a supposedly complete event.

मुहल्ले का नाम किसी सिलसिले में आ गया होगा

( अन्धेरे, ४८२ )

"The name of the neighborhood (if it has appeared is certainly not mentioned with some particular intention) may have been mentioned in some context"

क्षण-भर को उसे लगा था, जैसे - - - उसका दिल वहुत जोर से धड़कने लगा हो और उसकी आंखों में मोतियों जैसी चमक आ गई हो

( कहानी, १९० )

"Momentarily he felt, as if ........ a brightness as that of pearls may have appeared in his eyes"

Observe the following sentences where the + presumptive modifies the supposed completion of an event in a variety of ways.

फर्स्ट क्लास अफसर वन गया होगा, अपने घर का होगा

( कहानी, १९४ )

"(If) he has become a first-class officer (then what!) ......."

सोचता हूं कि तुम्हारा पत्र शायद मुझे पोर्ट सईद में मिल जायगा ।

जाने तुमने अपने पत्र में क्या लिखा होगा ।

( अन्धेरे, १४२ )

"I am thinking, perhaps I will get your letter in Port Said. I don't know what you would have written in that letter"

- - - अव तक तो शायद वह विल्कुल बदल गये होंगे

( जलती झाड़ी, ४३ )

" ....... by now perhaps he has changed completely"

- - - शायद कोई पत्थर पानी में लुढ़क गया होगा

(जलती झड़ी, ८२)

" ....... probably a stone might have rolled down in the water"

इस वीच अवश्य कुछ समय गुजरा होगा

( जलती झाड़ी, ८३ )

"Some time must have elapsed in the meanwhile"

आपने शायद एक खेल देखा होगा । लोग वन्दरों के वीच में एक गुड़ की भेली रख देते हैं - - -

( मैंने कहा, ५६ )

"Perhaps you have watched that funny sport ........"

वह तो समझ रहा था कि मुन्नू अब तक सेलर बनकर जहाज में घूम रहा होगा

( कहानी, १९० )

"He sort of entertained the thought that Munnu, having become a sailor by that time, might be/would be going around somewhere in a boat"

The following sentences illustrate some of the usages of the - presumptive in the + perfective aspect.

इतनी बड़ी बात को इस प्रकार कह गया, मानों महामाया कोई पतित स्त्री रही हों और और भी पतित हो गई हों

( बाण, २०५ )

उसकी देखा-देखी भारत के विकास-कार्यों में भी उनकी सलाह ली जाने लगी, यद्यपि उनकी सलाह पर अमल शायद ही कभी किया गया हो

( रु० स० १९ )

- - - ऐसा कोई नहीं था जिसकी मनो कामनाएं पूर्ण न हो चुकी हों - - -

अपनी खबर, ४२ )

मुन्नू उससे डरता है । उसकी कोठरी में कभी पांव रखा हो, उसे याद नहीं

( कहानी, १८२ )

उनके साथ एक अन्य व्यक्ति भी है और उसे लगा, जैसे उसने उस व्यक्ति को पहले कहीं देखा हो

( कहानी, १८८ )

4.6. The occurrence of + presumptive versus - presumptive with the + [- perfective] verb represents the assumed continuation of a narrated event with or without certainty. As has been indicated earlier the - perfective never represents an event as complete, and therefore, can indicate the continuity of an event from its inception to repetition which may or may not have any reference to termination. Here we would like to distinguish the termination of an incomplete event from a complete event where completion implies termination. Since the - perfective represents a verb as a continued event, the occurrence of the categories + presumptive and - presumptive, which in the case of + perfective project an event into remote and proximate past time, may have reference to remote and proximate future in this environment. Compare the following sentences.

जब आप लोग मेरा अपमान देख सकते हैं, तो अपनी घर की स्त्रियों का अपमान भी देख सकते होंगे ?

( गोदान, ७३ )

हकीकत शायद यह है कि उस रोज मैं उसे अपने साथ नहीं लाया था, बल्कि वह खुद मेरे साथ चला आया था, जैसे मैं उसे नहीं बल्कि वह मुझे नीचा दिखाना चाहता हो ।

( कहानी, २८४ )

मेरा ख्याल है आप हंसों से अनुराग रखते होंगे

( चंदन, ६ )

तव तो अच्छा हुआ, तुम नगर के घनी हो, तुम्हें तो रूप की आवश्यकता होती होगी ?

( प्रसाद, ३५ )

अगर मैं लिखता होऊं तो मुझे न बुलाना

( गुरू, ४६६ )

शायद वह शाम की गाड़ी से आता हो

( शर्मा, ७६ )

Otherwise the + presumptive and - presumptive tenses of the - perfective aspect are quite similar to the tense of the + perfective. A few more examples are given below.

मैंने बहुत मुश्किल से हंसी पर काबू किया - उस साले को खाना ही कब मिलता होगा - - -

( कहानी, २६१ )

रात को सोता होगा तो दुनिया - भर के स्वप्न देखता होगा

( कहानी, १८५ )

तुम अब मुझे बुरा समझते होगे ?

( जलती झाड़ी, १८ )

अँधेरी रात में आते समय खण्डहर पर इधर-उधर बिखरे हुए कंकड़ - पत्थर सन्यासी के चरणों में चुभते होंगे - - -

( सुहाग, १७१ )

हम फिर चुप हो गए । किन्तु उस चुप्पी में एक बोझिलसा तनाव था, जैसे कोई चीज बार बार हमारे बीच आ जाती हो, और हम बार बार उसे अलग ठेल देते हों

( जलती झाड़ी, १३६ )

The tense-form (12) by virtue of the fact that it is - status, can occur in the environments of the forms (1), (7) and (13) but the reverse does not hold. The implication of this observation is that any form which - status can occur in the enviornments of the + status but the + status forms cannot occur in the enviornments of the - status tenses. In other words the manner in which the systematization of grammatical categories has been set up by us not only represents a systematic abstraction of the invariant elements but also corresponds to the variable environments which contribute to the contextual meanings of these categories. This can be elucidated by comparing the definitions of the tense-forms (1) and (6) below.

Tense-form 1, + Perfective, + Status
Tense-form 6, + Perfective, + [- Status], + [-Mood], + [-Tense]

If the tense-form (6) occurs in the environment of the tense-form (1), i.e., say the sentences यदि राम आया - - - versus यदि राम आया होता - - - , they will have common meaning of the context (which in this case is conditional happening of the event) but at the same time share their invariant meaning also. Thus the sentences just quoted can be translated as "If Ram comes ........" and "If Ram had come .........." Though the + Status tenses are almost exclusively limited to conditional sentences, and do not occur elsewhere, the category status is not a part of these conditional environments as is thought sometimes. In other words the non-happening or happening of an event which has already taken place or has not taken place is the invariant meaning of the category of status. No other tense-form has this meaning.

Below we quote a passage which illustrates the tense-form (1) quite unambiguously.

> दूर क्यों जाते हैं, खुद मेरी खुशामदी सफलताओं का व्यौरा सुनिए न ? कभी हम साहव कुल ८)महीने के कम्पोजीटर थे । १५ साल वाद इस तेजी के जमाने में वहुत होता तो ५०, के हो गए होते । हाथ में स्टिक फकड़ते-फकड़ते ठेकें पड़ गई होतीं । स्टूल पर वैठते-वैठते कमर कमान हो गई होती --- वहुत मुमकिन था कि शीशे की गर्मी श्वास-प्रश्वास द्वारा फेफड़ों तक पहुंच गई होती और अब तक हमें हमारे बिरादरी वालों ने सत्यधाम भी पहुंचा दिया होता ; लेकिन वह तो यह कहिये कि तकदीर हमारी अच्छी थी---
>
> ( मैंने कहा, ७५ )

4.6. The + indicative, + presumptive and - presumptive tenses, as has been dicussed earlier, involve the speaker's assumption about the likelihood of the subject-noun's participation in the event with or without certainty. Unless these two tenses have any reference to time expressed in a sentence or in the context, they always imply the future time. A few examples are given below.

इसका मतलब है कि हमें शिक्षकों को श्रेष्ठतर प्रशिक्षण देना होगा

( अमरीका, ४३ )

हमें अपनी व्यक्तिगत और सार्वजनिक - दृष्टियों में सहानुभूति को स्थान देना ही होगा

( अमरीका, १४ )

मैंने फिर चिट्ठियों के पुलिंदे की तरफ देखा, जैसे कि उस पुलिंदे की जगह स्वयं हरबंस मेरे सामने हो और मुझे उससे अनुरोध करना हो - - -

( अंधेरे, १६१ )

क्योंकि मुझे मैसूर जाना हो, तो मुझे दो - एक दिनों में ही चली जाना चाहिए - - -

( अंधेरे, १६३ )

4.7. To understand the working of the dimension of tense, i.e., past versus non-past, it is necessary to discuss (a) the nature of opposition between mood and tense, and (b) the nature of the opposition past versus non-past.

4.8. The important difference between the dimensions of mood and tense is that the former is compatible with ± aspect tenses but the latter is limited to + aspect and + indicative tenses only. This means that in the categories + aspect and + indicative the opposition + tense versus - tense is a primary one. Observe the instances of - presumptive with + perfective and - perfective aspects in the following passages.

आपने लाख दक्षिण के मन्दिर और उत्तर के देवता देख डाले हों हज़ार महल मकबरे - - - और अजायबघरों में आखें फाड़ी हों, कलकत्ते की चौरंगी - - - और आगरे के ताजमहल पर चाहे आपकी आखें फिसल-फिसल कर क्यों न रह गई हों, - - -

( मैंने कहा, ६० )

जो दुनियां की खबर रखता हो, मगर जिसे खुद अपनी, अपने घर की, - - - कोई खोज खबर न हो, जो दुनिया की खबर लेता हो - - - जिसके पास न अपना पत्रकार- - - मगर फिर भी जो पत्र कम कहलाता हो - उसे सूझता क्या, अन्धा भी दूर से ही पहचान सकता है

( मैंने कहा, १०० )

If we replace the verbs देख डाले हों, फाड़ी हों, रह गई हों, रखता हों, हो, लेता हो, and कहलाता हो by the देख डाले हैं, फाड़ी हैं, रह गए हैं, रखता है,है, लेता है, कहलाता है noted passages, we have not lost the information given in these passages in any way. All we have done is that we have converted an imaginary and probable event into a concrete and possible event. By doing so we have made these passages more ambiguous than they originally are, i.e., we have changed the expression of these events which are assumed to be actual or real into events which are actual or real. The expression of an opinion by means of the cagegory of mood and the description of a fact by means of the category of tense, as these two categories work in MSH, are not to be understood as two mutually contradictory oppositions. In the + aspect and + indicative tenses the opposition mood versus tense represents a simple continuous dimension with two extremes. Observe the difference between two occurrences of in the following sentences.

वह उसी प्रकार चुप वैठा रहा, जैसे इंटरव्यू के वक्त किसी प्रश्न का उत्तर न दे सकने पर नौकरी का उम्मीदवार प्रश्न पूछने वाले की ओर देखता है, ऐसी ही उसने सोचा

( कहानी, १८१ )

और यह सोचकर कि शायद मुन्नू को सेलर का मतलव मालूम न हो, वह उसकी व्याख्या करने लगता है,सेलर जहाज़ में वैठ कर विना पैसा खर्च किये दुनिया-

भर का चक्कर लगाता है । - - - - वहुत ऊंचे - ऊंचे वर्फ से ढके पहाड़, घने जंगल, और मीलों तक फैला समुद्र - - - वह सव देखता है

( कहानी, १८६ )

The finite verb देखता है can be substituted by देखता हो only in the first sentence, and not in the latter. Such a change will change the interpretation of the sentence from "like a candidate for job ...looks at the person asking the question" to "as if he were a candidate for a job ...who looks at the person asking the question." The crucial difference conveyed by the contrast between देखता है and देखता हो in the MSH sentence is shifted in the English interpretation to the contrast between the sentence connections like versus as if.

A few more sentences are given below to illustrate the situation discussed above. In each case the sentence where the verb is + tense is ambiguous as to whether the situation described in them is an inferential statement or a description of fact. On the other hand there is no such ambiguity in the sentences where the verbs are + modal.

परन्तु विश्वास मानों, गाहड़ वाड़ो की प्रवल भुजाएं रक्षा करने का उपाय जानती हैं

( चारु, ८५ )

मैं आखें मुंह जोर घोड़ों की तरह वाग नहीं मानतीं और उछल कर आकाश की ओर जाना चाहती है

( चारु, १८ )

- - - और मैं - - - उस कमरे में लौट आया, जहां वैठा वह वीड़ी पी रहा था और मुस्करा रहा था, जैसे सव जानता हो कि मैं किस मरहले से गुज़र कर आ रहा हूं

( कहानी, २८६ )

कुछ देर में उस ज़माने की याद में डूबा रहा । महसूस हुआ, जैसे वह फिर उसी दुनिया से पैगाम लाया हो, फिर मुझे उन्हीं रोमानी वीरानों में भटका देने की कोशिश करना चाहता हो जिनसे भागकर मैंने अपने लिये एक फूलों की सेज संवार ली है

( कहानी, २९० )

It may be worthwhile to add that the use of + modal tenses in the passage quoted above from ( मैंने कहा, १०० ) is very significant in the sense that anyone who possesses the supposed characteristics of a newsman described by the author is a newspaper reporter (though he may not be one actually). It is intended as a pun on the profession of a newspaper reporter, and not a description of the profession.

Similarly we may observe the contrast between the + presumptive and the + past as illustrated in the following sentences.

वह भी तो इसी प्रकार स्वप्न देखता होगा

( कहानी, १८५ )

और उसकी पत्नी भी ऐसे ही स्वप्न देखती थी ( कहानी, १८५ )

4.9. We have already explained earlier that the dimension of time does not operate along the contrast past : present : future in the tense system of MSH, and there is no tense-marker in the language which significantly indicates the future time. This does not mean that the system of MSH cannot indicate the future time. All we are trying to say is that the indication of future time is not a significant tense dimension. Leaving the future aside, we are left with the two way tense contrast which has been characterized by the traditional grammarians as past versus present. Among the two terms of the tense opposition, the past tense is such a category which exclusively and significantly refers to the happening of an event before the speech event. On the other hand the traditional present, when evaluated on this basis, turns out to be nothing but an absence of the past tense. In other words the so-called present, because it can refer to any event which is significantly not past, cannot be characterized as a positive term in the tense system. The only invariant characteristic it has is that it is not past. Observe the contrast between the following pairs of sentences.

अब उसकी आँखें बन्द हो चुकी थीं और सिर झूल रहा था

( कहानी, २८२ )

मैं न जाने कैसे समझ बैठा था कि इतने वर्षों की अलहदगी के बाद अब मैं आतंक से पूरी तरह आजाद हो चुका हूं

( कहानी, २८३ )

वह तीन-चार गिलास बियर के पी चुका था, और चेहरे की ज़र्दी कुछ कम हो चुकी थी, लेकिन मुस्कराहट में माला के बाहर जाते ही फिर ज़हर और चैलेंज आ गया था, और मुझे महसूस हुआ जैसे कह रहा हो - - -

( कहानी, २९१ )

आज माला को गये पांच रोज़ हो गये हैं। मैंने दफ़्तर जाना छोड़ दिया है। वह फिर अपने असली रंग में आ गया है

( कहानी, २९२ )

The contrast between past and non-past in the abovenoted sentences is realized by the indication of the termination of the activity at a time before the speech-event versus its non-termination. The event indicated by the verb हो चुका हूं (in the second sentence), as the sentence indicates, probably took place long before the event indicated by the verb हो चुकी थीं but the former is non-past and the latter past. This contrast clearly demonstrates the arbitrary nature of the dimension of time which should not be confused with the actual happening of an event. The contrast between आ गया था and आ गया है does illustrate in a way what is traditionally understood by the opposition between past versus present.

The examples we have discussed above clearly demonstrate that the invariant features of the dimension of time can only be characterized in terms of the opposition past versus non-past — the past indicating the happening of an event before the speech-event, and the non-past indicating no such committment. By *the happening of an event* we mean only the speaker's report about the participation of the participants of the narrated event. The past, therefore, refers to the termination of the participation of the participants of the narrated event in the narrated event prior to the speech event, and the non-past indicates the absence of such a committment. This kind of nature of the opposition past versus non-past can be further illustrated by the following sentences with the verb उग . We have deliberately chosen the verb उग here because this verb in the sentences given below represents an event which is not characterized by any activity on the part of the performer, and implies an happening contingent upon the circumstances which may or may not be expressed in a sentence. The termination of the event indicated by past is either the absence of the circumstance upon which the event is contingent (the first sentence below) or the termination of the speaker's direct observation (the second sentence below). The non-past, on the other hand, indicates a timeless event which may be repetitive (the third sentence), repetitive but momentary (the fourth sentence) or continuous (the fifth sentence).

लेकिन पहले-पहल जब अपनी पत्नी की मृत्यु के बाद उसे ऊपर वाला कमरा खाली करके नीचे आना पड़ा था, तो कोठरी की सीलन और नाली की बदबू उसे असहनीय-सी लगती थी

( कहानी, १८५ )

कोई भी बात होने पर वह घण्टों बक-बक करने लगती थी।

( राह १०

लैला को हमेशा लगता है अभी बात इतनी बढ़ जायगी कि ये सब एक-दूसरे पर टूट पड़ेंगी

( कहानी, १४ )

मुझे आश्चर्य होता है । मैं अपने घर और पड़ोसी परिवार की तुलना करने लगता हूं

( कहानी, ३२४ )

उसका स्वर सुनकर मुन्नू की आंखें पल-भर को मुंद-सी जाती हैं, होंठ फड़कने लगते हैं और वह रोने लगता है

( कहानी, १६० )

Discussion about the nature of distinction between past and non-past would not be complete without noting a few instances of + past verbs referring to events occurring in the future. The following sentences illustrate this kind of situation.

पान्सा के साथ-ही-साथ इस बार पैसियनायकी भी भाग रही थी । और वे दोनों यह भी चाहते थे कि माधवी कोवलन का मोह छोड़ अपनी पुत्री को साथ लेकर नगर से भाग चले

( सुहाग, १७५ )

आप बोले - चलना होता तो वहां [illegible] मित्र हैं, दो तीन दिन किसी के यहां भी ठहर सकते थे

( प्रेम चन्द्र घर में, )

Both the abovenoted sentences are instances of past which imply an event taking place in the future, and do not fit into the traditional definition of this category. The verb भाग रही थी simply means "had planned to flee" and the verb ठहर सकते थे "could have stayed (if you were to go)".

4.10. The + past in the + perfective indicates the completion of an event prior to speech event, and the - past indicates no such committment. Compare the following sentences.

राम थोड़ी देर पहले यहाँ आया था

"Ram came here a little while ago (and is no longer here)"

राम थोड़ी देर पहले यहाँ आया है

"Ram came here a little while ago (and is still here)"

मैंने अभी खाना नहीं खाया था

"I had not finished eating till then"

मैंने अभी खाना नहीं खाया है

"I haven't eaten as yet"

लड़के ने दवाई एक घण्टा पहले खाई थी

"The boy had his medicine an hour ago (and he needs more now)"

लड़के ने दवाई एक घण्टा पहले खाई है

"The boy had his medicine an hour ago (and he does not need more now)"

The above examples illustrate the manner in which the time distance between an event completed in the past and an event completed in the non-past is maintained in MSH. Often such a distance is expressed in the language by means of adverbs as in the following pair of sentences.

परन्तु उस दिन जब छत पर उसने मुन्नू को देखा था, तो सूखी टहनियों जैसे उसके हाथ पांव देखकर उसका बड़ा-सा-सिर बहुत बेडौल जान पड़ा था

( कहानी, १८६ )

आपस में लड़ेंगे और कहीं मुन्नू बीच में फंस गया तो वही पीटा जायेगा । ऐसा ही उसने देखा है

( कहानी, १८६ )

4.11. The - perfective in the past tense is a tense-form which indicates iteration of the event in the past, and can be invariably translated as "used to ..... (but not any more)". On the other hand the - perfective in the non-past can indicate anything from repetition of an event to the inception of an event. Compare the following pairs of sentences.

- - - लेकिन उसकी शकल अब भी मुझसे कुछ-कुछ मिलती थी

( कहानी, २८६ )

फिर भी अकेला होने पर घरेलू मामलों को वार-वार उलट-पलटकर देखने से वैसा ही इत्मीनान मिलता है - - -

( कहानी, २८७ )

और उसकी पत्नी भी ऐसे ही स्वप्न देखती थी

( कहानी, १८५ )

- - - जैसे इंटरव्यू के वक्त किसी प्रश्न का उत्तर न दे सकने-पर नौकरी का उम्मीदवार प्रश्न पूछने वाले की ओर देखता है - - -

( कहानी, १८१ )

The past and non-past tenses of the - perfective, for this reason, are labelled as habitual past and habitual present in the grammars.

Observe the contrast between चाहता था and चाहता है in the following sentences where these verbs respectively indicate events "about to be completed" versus "about to begin".

कुमार कोणिक वैशाली की ओर प्रस्थान करे, उससे पूर्व वह भी कुछ आश्वस्त हुआ चाहता था

( दत्तक पुत्री, १२४ )

मोती ने देखा - खेल में झगड़ा हुआ चाहता है, तो किनारे हट गया

( प्रेम चन्द, ६ )

The following sentences illustrate the situation where the contrast between past and non-past is realized by means of non-happening of an event in the past versus eventual happening in the future.

उसका मन क्षमा की झोली फैलाकर दाता का गुण-गान कर, गिड़ गिड़ाकर भीख मांगना चाहता था और दाता ने विना मुंह मांगे इतनी भीख दे दी कि दाता और भिखारी की हैसियत में कोई भेद ही न रह गया

( सुहाग, १५२ )

नागिण की तरफ फुफकारें छोड़ते हुए उसने कहा, मैं उस बड़प्पन को चूर-चूर कर देना चाहती हूं

( सुहाग, ६१ )

The manner in which the distance between past and non-past tenses is maintained in - perfective aspect is illustrated below by a few more examples.

मेरे वड़े भाई ने विधि से कुछ भी पढ़ा नहीं था, - - - कि वह - - - वैधक और ज्योतिष में भी टांग अड़ाने की योग्यता रखते थे

( अपनी खवर, १६ )

याद आया कि खूवसूरत और शोख औरतें उस ज़माने में भी उसे वहुत पसन्द थीं, लेकिन उनका जादू ज्यादा देर तक नहीं चलता था

( कहानी, २६१ )

The first sentence above implies that the speaker's older brother is not living any more, and in the second sentence the speaker is not certain whether the situation described in the sentence is still true or not.

कत्थई रंग का सूट पहने एक अधेड़ किन्तु भारी डील-डौल के व्यक्ति आते हैं

( जलती झाड़ी, ७ )

अच्छा, मैं चलती हूं । तुम कल शाम आ जाओगे ?

( वे दिन, १३६ )

तेरा राजा यदि तेरी वातों से मुकरता हैं, तो यह सव तेरा हो जायगा

( जलती झाड़ी, २६ )

दर्पण का उपयोग तभी तक है जव तक वह किसी दूसरे की आकृति को अपने हृदय में प्रतिविम्वित करता है, अन्यथा लोग उसे निरर्थक जानकर फेंक देते हैं

( महादेवी, १८ )

The above sentences respectively indicate termination of the event in the immediate present, inception of the event in the present, probable inception of the event in future, momentary termination of the event, and repeated occurrence of the event.

We believe the above examples demonstrate the variety of the contextual realization of the opposition past versus non-past in the - perfective aspect. The variety of contextual realization depends upon the class of verbs as well as the adverbial constituents.

4.12. The likelihood of the happening of an event in the past or in the non-past expressed by means of the indicative past and the indicative non-past presents different kinds of problems of interpretation. Observe the differences in the meaning of the following sentences.

सावित्री वाई को सेनापति की नियुक्ति तत्काल करनी थी

( सह्याद्रि, ४६ )

"Savitri Bai was supposed to finalize the appointment of a commanding officer (and which she did)"

मालती को भी एक विज़िट करनी थी

( गोदान, १४५ )

"Malti was supposed to have made a house-call (and so she left)"

सहसा आचार्य शिष्य को ध्यान आया कि उसे तो तुरन्त ही देवी शिष्या की अट्टालिका की ओर लौटना था

( दक्ष पुत्री, ६८ )

"Suddenly Acharya Shistiya remembered that he was supposed to go back right away to the palace of Devi Shistiya (and which he did)"

हां, मुझे उसको बाल पकड़ कर घसीटना न था - - -

( गोदान, १३७ )

"Really I shouldn't have dragged her by her hair (which I did)"

The two different interpretations of the indicative past depend upon whether the performer is understood to be in the process of the activity denoted by the verb or not. In other words the likelihood of the happening of an event before the speech event is nothing more than how the speakers view the participation of the performer in the narrated event. Such an ambiguity does not exist in the non-past tense of the indicative.

मगर मैं अकेला आया हूं और मुझे अकेले ही रहना है

( अधेरे, १४१ )

आज मुझे - ही - मुझे दिखता है उस पार्टी में

( अपने खिलौने, ९५ )

The important difference between indicative non-past which indicates the likelihood of the happening of an event and the so-called future tense of traditional grammars can be understood only if the distinction involved in the future happening of an event is interpreted on the lines we have suggested throughout this discussion of MSH tenses. The indicative non-past (the tense-form 17) and the + presumptive (the tense-form 21) involve the future happening of an event but differ from each other in the respect that the former is a conjecture of the speaker and the latter an assumed certainty. Conscious authors of MSH make use of this distinction in their writings very systematically. Observe the following sentences where the use of Indicative non-past is deliberate.

यदि चिल्लिश खान के संकल्प को सिद्ध होना है तो ज्वालाएं आज अवश्य प्रकट होंगी

( चारु, ५४ )

अबकी दौलत राव सिंधिक को पूना से भागते गैल नहीं मिलती है

( कचनार, २८० )

4.13. The tense-forms (6, 12 and 18) represent completion, continuation and likelihood of an event in those circumstances when the speaker chooses to remain absolutely non-commital about the participation of the participants of the narrated event in the narrated event. In other words the interpretation of the + perfective, the - perfective and the + indicative as - mood as well as - tense is to be understood as a positive characteristic. The traditional interpretation of these simple forms can be represented as follows:

Tense form 6, + Perfective, - [+ Status], - [+ Mood], - [+ Tense]

This is a direct consequence of the distinction between simple and periphrastic tenses. Once the distinction between simple and periphrastic tenses is ignored for the purpose of systematizing the grammatical categories by interpreting the auxiliary verb हो as a phonological element which has the function of carrying certain suffixes that cannot be directly affixed, we obtain an entirely different interpretation of them tense-forms. Compare the following representation of the tense-form 6 with the one given above.

Tense form 6, + Perfective, + [- Status], + [- Mood], + [- Tense]

Syntactically all the tense-forms of the finite verb are to be considered as units irrespective of the fact that morphologically one is contained in the other. The interpretation of forms like गया था and गया है as + [+ Tense] and that of गया + [- Tense] rather than as + [+ Tense] and - [+ Tense] respectively is the only way which permits the so-called periphrastic tenses to be the tenses of the finite verb. Such an interpretation represents the direction in which the evolution of the tenses of the finite verb has taken place from the non-finite verb. The synchronic implications of our interpretation are important for an understanding of the system of grammatical categories of MSH.

4.14. An event indicated by the tense-form (6) is an event the completion of which is neither assumed by the speaker, nor an expression of an event to which the speaker is a party in any way. It is an inference which is independent of the speaker's viewpoint and is a fact, the time of happening of which is irrelevant to its inferential character. A few sentences illustrate the occurrence of the tense-form (6) in the sense we have just explained.

आंधी के समान उसका स्त्रीत्व वादल की छवि लेकर आया, परन्तु ध्वंस तथा धूल छोड़ कर अज्ञात दिशा में वढ़ गया

( महादेवी, ६५ )

उसने एक वार कुछ स्खलित वानी में निपुणिका से पूछा और फिर शिथिल भाव से पड़ रही

( वाण, २२ )

A sequence of sentences such as above can be likened to a momentary flashing of pictures one after the other on a screen. Since the events which are expressed in this manner are complete and not contingent upon any circumstances either expressed or implied, some grammarians have labelled them as the occurrence of verbs in the past tense. Thus they posit two varieties of past tense -- remote indicated by था and proximate without था The addition of था to the verbs as they occur in the above noted sentences always implies termination of the event in the sense we have discussed earlier, indicating that the speaker considers the participation of the performer in the narrated event as a temporary phase of the event which took place and the performer reverted back to his original state. We have given quite a few examples in the earlier sections to prove that there is no such thing as remote versus proximate past in the system of MSH.

Now we shall illustrate a few examples where the tense-form (6) indicates completion of the event in the future.

— और, कचनार को उनके पंजे से मुक्त किया जाय, वह और कहीं हो ही नहीं सकती, परन्तु परन्तु गुसाईं बहुत हैं, बाहर निकल कर उनके ऊपर आक्रमण किया और उन्होंने हमारा विध्वंस किया

( कचनार, १६६ )

" ..... (the moment) we attack the Gosains, (the very moment) they are going to crush us completely"

The imaginary completion of an event in the future, as expressed in the above sentence contrasts with other tenses which also indicate a variety of future in various contexts, and implies a momentum which is absent in contexts where the future event (rather the imaginary event) is not expressed by means of tense-form (6). For instance compare the above sentence with the following:

बाहर निकलकर उनके ऊपर आक्रमण करते हैं तो वे हमारा विध्वंस कर देंगे

" ... If we attack them they will crush us completely'

The tense-form (6) indicates an imaginary (future) event in addition to events which are complete is a sufficient proof that any indication of time involved in the sentences in which this tense-form occurs is a part of the context.

Before passing on to the next section, we would like to give a few more examples of the tense-form (6) the occurrence of which is self-explanatory.

कैसा विचित्र योग है कि उन्होंने आपका नाम लिया

( चारु, २७० )

जैसे ही कन्या का जन्म हुआ, माता-पिता का ध्यान सबसे पहले उसके विवाह की कठिनाइयों की ओर गया

( महादेवी, ८२ )

4.15. The tense-form (12), like the tense-form (6), indicates an event which is either an inference or a contingency the happening or non-happening of which is dependent upon some implied or expressed condition. A few examples are given below.

(a) repeated happening in the past

गेंद वह इस ढूंढ़र भरपूर ज़ोर से फेंकते कि कुत्ता ले आए और कुत्ता ले आता साहब

( अपनी ख़बर, ४८ )

(b) conditional non-happening in the past

यदि स्त्रियों में ऐसी बहिनों की पर्याप्त संख्या रहती जिनके निकट कानून एक विचित्र वस्तु न होता तो इनकी इतनी अधिक दुर्दशा न हो सकती

( महादेवी, ७१ )

(c) suggested possibility

महाराज को सविनय सांकेतिक सलाह देते हुए उन्होंने अपने पत्र में यह भी सुझाया कि उक्त पवित्र धन का उपयोग भी यदि नगर के व्यावसायिक पुनर्संगठन के लिये हो सकता तो उनके स्वर्गीय सम्बन्धी की आत्मा को परम शान्ति लाभ होता

( सुहाग, २०६ )

4.16. The tense-form (18), which according to our systematization is + Indicative, + [-Status], + [-Mood], + [-Tense], is considered by the grammarians as a variety of the imperative mood. This form does not occur with third person performer and neither does it permit the identification of the speaker with the performer. This seems to be the sole reason for traditional interpretation of this tense-form.

The tense-forms (13 - 18), as we have discussed earlier, indicate the likelihood of the participation of the performer in the narrated event. If the likelihood of the participation of the performer in a + [+ Indicative] tense is + [- Status], + [- Mood], and + [- Tense], this tense-form is in fact + [- likelihood of the participation of the performer]. Therefore the absence of the performer of an event which from the speaker's point of view has a likelihood of happening becomes an address by the speaker to the addressee (who like the speaker is also a participant of the speech-event). Regarding this form as a variety of imperative, therefore, is not a valid interpretation.

The non-occurrence of the postposition को after the second person pronoun as well as absence of concord between tense-form (18) and its subject pronoun are thus not accidental properties of the sentences containing the tense-form (18).

A few examples are given below.

आर्य ऋण में लिया कार्षापण नहीं लेती, जब कभी अपना बने तो दे जाना

( दत्तक पुत्री, १०४ )

फिर उन्होंने कहा - तनखाह की कोई बात नहीं, तुम्हें जितने पैसों की ज़रूरत हो ले लिया करना

( अश्रु, १०६ )

4.17. The tense-forms, which are neither + aspect nor + indicative, are either + injunctive or - injunctive. In other words these tense-forms either involve the imposition of an event by the speaker on the addressee or assumes the participation of the performer in the narrated event.

4.18. An event imposed by the speaker on the addressee may be in the form of an appeal (i.e. + hortative) or not (i.e. - hortative). Consequently the + hortative varies from indirect suggestion to a direct appeal as is illustrated in the following sentences.

अगर मैं आपसे कह दूं कि आप कायर हैं तो आप बुरा मान जाइएगा

( दो वांके, २५ )

आप देखते रहियेगा कहीं गाड़ी न आ जाए

( स०स०, १४ )

The - hortative is the imperative form of MSH grammars, and constitutes an event directly imposed by the speaker on the addressee. A few examples are given below.

आज वह किसी लायक होता तो दादा और अम्मां को सोने से मढ़ देता और कहता - अव तुम कुछ न करो, आराम से खाओ और जितना दान-पुन करना चाहो, करो

( गोदान, ६३ )

इसका इलाज कीजिये, नहीं तो हम लोग कहीं के न रहे

( लज्जा, ६३ )

The + hortative form is also labelled as future imperative by some grammarians because of the occurrence of -ga. In fact, morphologically both hortative and the so-called future form (i.e. the forms 19 and 21) are also periphrastic tenses. The former consists of the plural of the imperative plus -ga and the latter of the tense-form (22) plus -ga.

4.19. The interpretation of the + presumptive as absolute future, as we have argued in the previous pages, leaves out many occurrences of this tense where it does not indicate the future happening of an event. Below we give a few more examples of + presumptive which are contrary to the traditional interpretation of this tense.

उस समय उस असमय प्रौढ़ा, कई दुर्वल सन्तानों की रोगिनी पीली माता में कौन-सी विवशता, कौन-सी रुला देने वाली करुणा न मिलेगी

( महादेवी, ८८ )

जव काका उसे पकड़ लाए थे, तव उसकी अवस्था शायद ३० वर्ष से अधिक नहीं होगी

( लज्जा, १० )

उस वुड्ढे ने कुछ रुक कर उत्तर दिया, शायद आप ठीक कहती हैं, अधिकांश मनुष्य कायरता को वहुत वड़ा नैतिक अपराध विना सोचे समझे कह देंगे

( दो वाके, २५ )

ऐसा होता आया है इसी लिये ऐसा होता रहना चाहिए इस तर्क में विश्वास करने वाले आज कम मिलेंगे और भविष्य में कदाचित् मिलेंगे भी नहीं

( महादेवी, ६३ )

हल्ल तनिक विहंस वोला - आयुष्मान्, तो फिर मैं कहूंगा कि राज पुत्र तुम्हारी भांति भोले होते हैं

( दत्तक पुत्री, १२७ )

The above examples are enough to prove that the so-called absolute future tense of traditional grammars is in fact presumptive absolute or briefly + presumptive. It is a purely modal category which often indicates the happening of an event in the future because this meaning of modal tenses is general when they are + [- aspect] and + [- indicative].

4.20. Similarly the - presumptive, which is also labelled as future of one kind or another, is a purely modal tense. Below we list a few more examples which are exceptions to its traditional interpretation.

तो सुनिए फ़िलासफ़र हमेशा मुर्दा-दिल होते हैं, जव देखिए, अपने विचारों में मगन वैठे हैं। आपकी तरफ ताकेंगे, मगर आपको देखेंगे नहीं, आप उनसे वात किये जाये, कुछ सुनेंग नहीं। जैसे शून्य में उड़ रहे हों

( गोदान, ५६ )

भवनिया ( उनके जेठे पुत्र का नाम था ) को भी कहीं कोई काम दिलादो तो भेज दूं । न पढ़े, न लिखे, एक न एक उपद्रव करता रहता है ।

( गोदान, २१० )

कंकड़ फें किए तो विन्ध्या चल प्रचण्ड पहाड़ के आंगन में गिरे

( अपनी ख़वर, ३६ )

वुआ मौत का मजाक करें, यह विलकुल ठीक नहीं है

( त्याग पत्र, १६ )

विद्याधरभट्ट जैसा राजनीति का पक्का खिलाड़ी आनन्दोल्लास में झूम उठे यह समझ में आने वाली वात नहीं थी

( चारू, १३१ )

जव तुम्हें कोई वीच में टोक कर धीरे वोलने के लिए कहे तव तुम कुछ भी नहीं वोल सकते

( वे दिन, ७५ )

## 5. Simple versus Periphrastic Tenses

5.1. The abovenoted somewhat broad discussion of the contextual variations involved in the occurrence of MSH tenses in various environments enables us to pinpoint the invariant grammatical categories. While discussing the contextual variations we have tried to point out the basis on which our systematization stands. Now we want to explain some further reasons for arguing the suspension of the distinction between simple and periphrastic tenses at the syntactic level.

We have already sufficiently emphasized that without interpreting the tense-forms (6, 12, 18) as + [- Mood] and + [- Tense] we cannot arrive at a systematization of the grammatical categories of the finite verb. If we may go a step further, we can say that without systematizing the grammatical categories on the lines we have done, we cannot state the restrictions on the occurrence of tenses in various environments in a satisfactory manner. These tense restrictions are of several sorts. For instance the + status tenses (the forms 1, 7 and 13), the + aspect, + indicative in the - presumptive mood are incompatible with sentences having जैसे ही - - - and ज्यों ही - - - adverbials. Other restrictions involve concordance between tenses in dependent clauses of various kinds, e.g. the various possibilities in the undernoted example.

मुझे पता चल गया था कि { आप वहां जायेंगे
{ आप वहां जायें

Still other restrictions are involved in the compatibility between various tenses and the explicators. For instance the explicator रह is compatible with all the tenses when the primary verb is a stative verb, e.g. वैठ -, सो - etc. It is incompatible with all the tenses except the + perfective when it follows the non-stative verbs, e.g. जा- , ला- , देख-, etc. Both सक - and पा - are incompatible with - hortative tenses and so on.

A good deal more work is necessary before we can understand the nature and extent of these restrictions. But a few preliminary observations can be made at this point.

5.2. As we have indicated above, if there is a restriction on the higher level category, for instance, on the occurrence of - perfective or of the - aspect tenses after various रह - compounds, it applies to all the lowel level categories also. If we may take an example of tense concordance between tenses of the finite verb in conditional sentences, we find that in the sentence यदि - - - तो - - - unmarked mood in the first clause can be followed by marked or unmarked mood in the तो - clause but marked in the यदि - clause does not permit the unmarked mood in the तो clause. For example the following possibilities of tense concordance do not exist in MSH.

यदि राम ने उसको कहा होगा तो मोहन आया हो

यदि राम उसको कहता होगा तो मोहन आता हो

यदि राम को उसको कहना होगा तो मोहन को आना हो

यदि राम उसको कहेगा तो मोहन आये

Such restrictions which can be stated in terms of tense concordance apply equally to the so-called simple as well as the periphrastic tenses, and after exhaustive investigation of their extent in various environments can be introduced by means of tense-concordance rules. The basis for the formulation of tense-concordance rules is implied in grammatical category rules as given earlier.

It is for these reasons we have argued in favor of suspension of analysis of periphrastic forms into simple forms plus auxiliary. Such an analysis is not only counter-intuitive but also obscures the investigation of tense restrictions.

## Causal Verbs

### 1. Traditional Interpretation

1.1. The grammars of MSH while enumerating the morphological processes for deriving one verb stem from the other classify the verbs in the following manner:

| Intransitive | Transitive | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-causal | causal | |
| | | first | second |
| आ - "to come" | — | — | — |
| उठ - "to rise" | — | उठा - | उठवा - |
| लौट - "to return" | लौटा - | — | — |
| | पी - "to drink" | पिला - | पिलवा - |
| | लिख - "to write" | लिखा - | लिखवा - |
| | कर - "to do" | करा - | करवा - |
| | भेज - "to send" | — | भेजवा - |

A classification such as the above is based on the generalization, for example, that the verb stem उठ "to get up" is an intransitive verb, उठा - "to wake up (tr.)" is its first causal form formed by adding the suffix *-a* to the intransitive stem, and उठवा "to cause to wake up" is the second causal stem which consists of the stem उठ and the suffix *-va*.

This generalization implies: (1) that the formation of causal verbs is a morphological process, and (2) that the only requirement is that the causal as well as the non-causal forms of verbs should be listed in a dictionary. This interpretation of the phenomenon of causal verbs does not take into account the following facts about the occurrence of causal verbs in MSH sentences:

(a) there are systematic restrictions on the occurrence of causal verbs

(b) a morphological specification of causal and non-causal of verbs does not allow the correct interpretation of the values of the causal suffixes *-a* and *-va* and

(c) some grammarians classify the causal forms as *false causals* and true causals, while the dictionaries do not seem to agree with this interpretation.

Below we shall take up these three points one by one.

### 1.2. Restrictions on the occurrence of causal verbs:

By restrictions on the occurrence of causal verbs we mean that it is not enough to know that a verb like कर has causal forms करा - and करवा - on the one hand, and on the other, a verb like पा - has none. If we characterize the verb पा - as -causal, meaning that it has no causal form, an indication of the verb कर - as +causal (i.e., it has the first causal करा - and the second causal करवा - ) we need a statement about the syntactic environments in which a +causal verb is + [+causal] or - [+causal]. For example, observe the following sentences:

राम ने गीत याद किया है

राम ने आपको याद किया है

The first sentence has a matching sentence with the causal of the verb कर , whereas the second has none.

मोहन ने राम को गीत याद करवाया है

* मोहन ने राम को आपको याद करवाया है

Every verb which is listed as +causal in MSH dictionaries is + [+causal] under specifiable syntactic environments. Therefore, the traditional assumption about the phenomenon of causals of verbs as a morphological process is not a tenable assumption.

The occurrence or non-occurrence of causal forms of +causal verbs cannot be explained on the basis of the knowledge of verbs alone.

1.3. The Values of the Causal Morphemes; If we set the question of false and true causals aside for the moment, we cannot interpret the values of the causal suffixes -a and -va on the basis of the knowledge of the forms of verbs alone.

The verbs which are +causal can be classified on the basis of the number of forms they have as follows:

(a) the verbs which have two forms, e.g.

भेज -), भेजवा -), and लौट -) लौटा -

(b) the verbs which have three forms, e.g.

कर -, करा -, उठ -, उठा -, उठवा -,

(c) the verbs which have four forms, e.g.

दिख -; देख, दिखा -, दिखवा; फिर -, फेर -, [illegible]

फिरा -, फिरवा -

If the suffix -va is interpreted as second causal suffix alone, then it follows that the two form verbs which are transitive, and have only -va causals do not have their first causal, or the verbs which are intransitive, and do not have the -va causal forms, have only the first causal.

The grammars of MSH do not throw any light on this problem, and the dictionaries avoid making any committment whatsoever.

1.4. False Causals: One way to justify the correctness of the traditional interpretation of causal verbs is to interpret the first causal forms of verbs like कर् - etc. as false causals, and reduce the number of significant forms of verbs to three. The motivation for such an interpretation is to save the morphological value of the suffix *-va* as second causal. But the question whether the two-form verbs like लौट -, लौटा - have first and/or second causals or not still remains undecided.

The interpretation of *-a* causals of some verbs as *false* causals is a questionable interpretation. If we disregard the values assigned to the suffixes *-a* and *-va* by the grammarians as well as by the lexicographers of MSH, we can say that they correctly list the maximum number of forms of all the verbs. The correct listing of maximum number of forms of a verb, and the correct grammatical interpretation of these forms must be regarded as two different things.

The following description of causal verbs assumes the correctness of lists of forms of these verbs as given in MSH dictionaries, and attempts to assign values to the suffixes *-a* and *-va* as first and/or second causals solely on the basis of their syntactic environments. Such an attempt consists of interpreting the underlying structure of a sentence with a causal verb, either *-a* causal or *-va* causal, as a sentence with a non-causal verb plus the causal morpheme. So our discussion essentially consists of two parts, i.e., (a) assigning the grammatical values to the suffixes -a and -va, and (b) illustrating the grammatical operation which converts a simple sentence into a causal sentence. Such a grammatical operation can be expressed in the form of rules as follows:

1. # S // ----> NP + VP
2. VP ----> $\left\{ \bar{S} \; \overset{=}{+} \; \bar{\bar{C}}\text{aus.} \right\}$

The symbols NP, VP, S, and Caus. respectively stand for noun phrase, verb phrase, sentence and causal.

1.5. We have mentioned above that the verbs like सौंप -, चाह -, पा -, जगमगा - etc. are -causal, i.e., do not occur in sentences which participate in the rule 2 given above. The indication of such verbs as -causal in a dictionary of MSH should not be regarded to mean that the non-occurrence of these verbs in S + Caus. is a syntactic property or a lexical one. By writing a rule V ----> [± causal] we want to avoid consideration of this question at this stage of the investigation.

## 2. Formation of Causal of Intransitive Verbs

2.1. Intransitive stems of two-form, three-form and four-form verbs form their causals independently of their transitive counterparts. Below we list a few verbs in these classes.

**two-form verbs**

लौट -, लौटा -

**three-form verbs**

उठ -, उठा -, उठवा -

चल -, चला -, चलवा -

निकल -, निकाल -, निकलवा -

**four-form verbs**

फिर -, फेर -, फिरा -, फिरवा -

मिल -, मेल -, मिला -, मिलवा -

First and second causals of the intransitive stems of the above noted verbs are as follows:

| Intransitive | First Causal | Second Causal |
|---|---|---|
| लौट - | लौटा - | लौटा - |
| उठ - | उठा - | उठवा - |
| चल - | चला - | चलवा - |
| निकल - | निकाल - | निकलवा - |
| फिर - | फिरा - | फिरवा - |
| मिल - | मिला - | मिलवा - |

Intransitive stems of some verbs do not form causals because they never fullfil the required syntactic conditions. Such verbs are सूख–,सुखा–, कट–,काट–,कटवा–, दिख–,देख–,दिखा–,दिखवा–. The verbs like सूख –, कट –, and दिख – can be interpreted as lexically +causal but syntactically -causal. We shall discuss this problem after we have established the fact that the formation of causals of intransitive verbs is independent of the causals of transitive verbs.

2.1. Let us observe the following sentences:

(1) राम कल घर लौटेगा

(2) राम सवेरे बहुत जल्दी उठता है

(3) वह बहुत तेज चलता है

(4) राम घर से निकल गया है

(5) राम सारे दिन इधर उधर फिरता है

(6) राम मोहन से कल मिलेगा

Each one of the above-noted sentences has two matching sentences each — (a) and (b) — as follows:

(1a) मोहन राम को कल घर लौटायेगा

(1b) श्याम मोहन के द्वारा राम को कल घर लौटायेगा

(2a) मोहन राम को सवेरे बहुत जल्दी उठाता है

(2b)श्याम मोहन से राम को सवेरे बहुत जल्दी उठवाता है

(3a)मोहन उसको बहुत तेज चलाता है

(3b)श्याम मोहन से उसको बहुत तेज चलवाता है

(4a) मोहन ने राम को घर से निकाल दिया है

(4b) श्याम ने मोहन से राम को घर से निकलवा दिया है

(5a) मोहन राम को सारे दिन इधर-उधर फिराता है

(5b) श्याम मोहन से राम को सारे दिन इधर-उधर फिरवाता है

(6a) श्याम राम को मोहन से कल मिलायेगा

(6b) कृष्ण श्याम के द्वारा राम को मोहन से कल मिलवायेगा

The sentences ( 1a - 6a) illustrate the formation of first causals and the sentences ( 1b - 6b) the second causals of these verbs. The interpretation of फिरा-, मिला- and फिरवा-, मिलवा- as first and second causals respectively of फिर and मिल presents no problem because the transitive stems of these verbs (i.e., the stems फेर- and मेल- ) are morphologically distinct. Both the first as well as second causal forms of लौट , and the first causals of the verbs उठ -, चल -, निकल - etc. are the same as their transitive counterparts. In some instances, the dictionaries do list forms like निकला - as causal forms, indicating at the same time that the usage of these forms is local and not common in MSH. It is, therefore, necessary to establish the identity of the first causal of intransitive stems from the transitive counterparts of these three-form verbs. Observe the following sentences.

(7) राम कुर्सी से पुस्तकें उठा रहा है

(8) राम गाड़ी चला रहा है

(9) राम पुस्तकें बाहर निकाल रहा है

Each one of the above sentences has two matching sentences each.

(7a) मोहन राम को कुर्सी से पुस्तकें उठवा रहा है

(7b) श्याम मोहन से राम को कुर्सी से पुस्तकें उठवा रहा है

(8a) मोहन राम को गाड़ी चलवा रहा है

(8b) श्याम मोहन से राम को गाड़ी चलवा रहा है

(9a) मोहन राम को पुस्तकें बाहर निकलवा रहा है

(9b) श्याम मोहन से राम को पुस्तकें बाहर निकलवा रहा है

In all these sentences the same -va form occurs as the first as well as the second causal of the transitive verbs उठा-, चला-, and निकाल- . The sentences ( 7a - 9a ) and ( 7b - 9b ) clearly demonstrate the fact that the formation of causals of the intransitive stems like उठ-, चल-, निकल- etc. is quite distinct from the formation of causals of their transitive counterparts, i.e., उठा -, चला -, and निकाल- etc., and the interpretation of उठा-, चला-, निकाल- etc. as first causals of उठ-, चल-, and निकल- etc. as well as their transitive counterparts can be understood on the basis of the syntactic criteria alone.

2.2. Conditions for the formation of causals of intransitive verbs can be listed as follows in the order of their priority of application:

(a) an intransitive verb should be +causal,

(b) a +causal intransitive verb will be subject to the application of the rule VP ----> S + Caus. only when its subject noun is an +animate noun.

The +causal of intransitive verbs is always +Caus( +Caus.). In other words उठा - is the causal of उठ- , and उठवा- is the causal of उठा-. The terms first and second causals should be so understood in the context of intransitive verbs.

The condition (b) mentioned above also means that the causal of intransitive verbs can be formed only in the grammatical environments of the primary category of the lexical content of these verbs. The implication of this stipulation is that the contrast between ±animate nouns is suspended when the nouns occur as the subject of intransitive verbs in the grammatical environment of the secondary as well as tertiary categories of their lexical content.

## 3. Formation of Causals of Transitive Verbs

3.1. Selectival constraints on the formation of causals of +causal transitive verbs can be formulated in terms of the following properties of the sentences in which these transitive verbs occur.

(a) the subject-nouns of transitive verbs, and

(b) within the limitations of the condition (a) the occurrence of ±animate nouns as object or the occurrence of action noun phrases as object.

Below we shall briefly develop the implications of these two conditions.

3.2. The requirement of the subject-nouns of transitive verbs is the same as with intransitive verbs, i.e., they are +animate nouns. But since the +causal transitive verbs can also form causals in the grammatical environments of all the three categories of lexical content, some explanation is necessary about the occurrence of subject-nouns of transitive verbs. Compare the following three sentences with the verb दे - "to give".

राम भविष्य में आपको वहुत् काम देगा

"Ram will give you a lot of work (to do) in the future"

यह पुस्तक भविष्य में आपको बहुत काम देगी

"This book will be very useful to you in the future"

राम भविष्य में आपको वहुत काम देगा

"Ram will be very useful to you in the future"

The occurrence of the +animate noun राम in the first sentence contrasts with its occurrence in the third sentence. The third sentence is understood in the manner of the second sentence. In other words the distinction between + and - animate nouns as the subject of a transitive verbalizer verb (as tie verb दे in the second as well as the third sentence) issuspended in the environment of some action noun phrases. बहुत काम is such an action noun phrase in the second and third sentnces above. The verb दे ,though a +causal verb, cannot have sentences with its causal forms matching the last two sentences. On the other hand there is no such restriction on the verb दे in the first sentence.

It is, therefore, necessary to indicate this property of action noun phrases with the +causal verbalizer verbs in a dictionary of MSH.

3.3. Transitive verbs, when not occurring as verbalizer verbs of action noun phrases, can be grouped as follows for the purpose of arriving at a systematic statement about the occurrence of their causal forms:

(a) Verbs which can take single as well as double objects optionally. Among these, there are verbs which have three forms, e.g., लिख-, लिखा-, लिखवा, , two forms, e.g., भेज -, भेजवा -, or one form लौटा -

लड़के ने पत्र लिखा था

लड़के ने राम को पत्र लिखा था

(b) Verbs which do not occur with double objects. These verbs can be sub-grouped in the following manner.

(i) verbs having three forms ( कर-, करा-, करवा-) and can occur with ±animate nouns

राम ने लड़के को कमरे में बन्द कर दिया

राम ने बहुत काम किया

(ii) verbs having two forms ( उठ - , उठवा - ) and can occur with ±animate nouns

राम ने बच्चे को उठा लिया

राम ने सामान उठा लिया

(iii) verbs having two forms ( चला - , चलवा - ) and occur with -animate nouns

राम गाड़ी चलाता है

(iv) verbs having three forms ( पी-, पिला-, पिलवा- ) and occur with -animate nouns

राम ने पानी पिया

(v) verbs having three forms ( देख-, दिखा-, दिखवा-) and occur with ±animate nouns

राम ने लड़के को देखा
राम ने पुस्तक देखी

Finally we may add another class of transitive verbs which always occur with double objects ( दे-, दिला-, दिलवा - ) More about the occurrence of double objects with these verbs is explained in the section on the object constituent.

राम ने मुझे पुस्तक दी

All these verbs are +Caus. or +Caus.(+Caus.), depending upon the possibilities of occurrence of object-nouns with them. The occurrence of +Caus. or +Caus.(+Caus.) possibilities of the above noted classes of transitive verbs can be summarized as follows:

(a) All the double object verbs are always +Caus, e.g.,

मोहन ने लड़के से राम को पत्र लिखाया था
लिखवाया

(b) All verbs, with the exception of verbs like देख when their object noun is +animate, are also +Caus. only.

मोहन ने राम से लड़के को कमरे में वन्द करा दिया
करवा

(c) All verbs with the exception of verbs like पी-, and देख, when their object noun is -animate are either +Caus. or +Caus.(+Caus.)

मोहन ने राम से वहुत काम कराया
करवाया

मोहन ने राम को वहुत काम कराया
करवाया

श्याम ने मोहन से राम को वहुत काम करवाया

The forms करा and करवा are both +Caus. of the verb कर - in the first as well as the second sentences above. Their respective interpretation as first and second causal is not based on the forms करा or करवा but on the occurrence of the postpositions से and को with the subject noun राम . In the third sentence the form करवा - is the causal of करा- or करवा- as they occur in the second sentence. For convenience of labelling and for the sake of not throwing away the traditional terminology altogether we may label any causal form which accompanies (a) the से subject of the embedded sentence as direct second causal, (b) the को subject of the embedded sentence as first causal and (c) both the को and से subjects of the embedded sentences as second causal of the first causal (or briefly second causal).

(d) All verbs like पी- and देख are always +Caus.(+Caus).

मोहन ने राम को पानी पिलाया

श्याम ने मोहन से राम को पानी पिलवाया

In the following table we indicate the direct second causal, first causal and second causal values of the suffixes -a and -va with the various classes of verbs.

| Verbs | Causal Categories |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
|  | direct second | first | second |
| लिख - | -a<br>-va | -a<br>-va | -va |
| मेज - | -va | -va | -va |
| कर - | -a<br>-va | -a<br>-va | -va |
| उठा - | -va | -va | -va |
| चला - | -va | -va | -va |
| पी - | —— | -a | -va |
| देख - | —— | -a | -va |
| दे - | -a<br>-va | —— | —— |

## 4. Formation of Causals of Verbalizer Transitive Verbs

4.1. Action noun phrases impose certain restrictions on the formation of causals of their transitive verbalizer verbs, with the exception of verbs like पी and देख which are +Caus(+Caus.) as verbalizer or non-verbalizer verbs, all other verbs undergo these restrictions.

Within the limitations on the occurrence of subject-nouns with transitive verbs, the +causal transitive verbalizer verbs other than those like पी and देख - etc. are +Caus. and/or +Caus.(+Caus.) or -Caus. depending upon the class of action noun phrase which occurs with it. Therefore we can indicate +Caus. and/or +Caus.(+Caus.) or -Caus. characteristics of verbs with the action noun phrases. For example the verb कर - is a verbalizer verb for the following action noun phrases, and will form causals as specified along with these action noun phrases:

| | |
|---|---|
| N का अपमान | +Caus. |
| N पर अनुसन्धान | +Caus., +Caus(+Caus.) |
| N का अभ्यास | +Caus.(+Caus.) |
| N की चिन्ता | -Caus. |

4.3. Some verbs, when occurring as non-verbalizer verbs, always require a double object, and thus permit direct second causals only. Such a restriction does not apply on verbs like दे- in the environment of action noun phrases. For example, the verb दे - is (a) +Caus. with N को आवाज (b) +Caus., +Caus.(+Caus.) with N में तेल , and (c) -Caus. with N को दु:ख .

Whether these verbs can also be +Caus.(+Caus.), depends upon if such action noun phrases occur with them. So far we have no example to indicate that verbs like दे- can be +Caus.(+Caus.) as well.

5. The Dative Object: Many single object verbs can become like double-object verbs in the presence of a dative object in the sentence. Observe the following sentences.

लड़के ने पुस्तक उठा ली

लड़के ने मुझे पुस्तक उठा दी

The verb उठा-, which is normally a single-object verb, in the presence of the dative object मुझे obligatorily requires the explicator दे . See section for more explanation on the dative object.

The presence of a dative object is also a constraining feature of the +causal transitive verbs. All +causal transitive verbs, when +dative object, are +Caus. only.

मोहन ने लड़के से मुझे पुस्तक उठवा दी

मोहन ने लड़के से मुझे काम करवा दिया

## 6. Other Restrictions on +Causal Verbs:

6.1. The +causal transitive and intransitive verbs are -Caus., i.e., cannot have matching sentences with their causal forms in various other syntactic environments. A systematization of such constraining environments is not complete as yet. Therefore, we shall illustrate below some of these environments.

6.2. The verb निकल - is -Caus. as it occurs in the following sentence.

वह पढ़ाई में मुझसे आगे निकल गया है

"He has surpassed me in studies"

Similarly the verb देख is also -Caus, as it occurs in the undernoted sentences.

मनुष्य अपनी सीमा में ही देख सकता है

शाम के समय कभी-कभी मैं अपने इस विशाल नगर के पार देखता हूं

इन आकाशों ने क्या-कुछ देखा है, क्या-कुछ इन्हें देखना है

6.3. The examples given above illustrate the fact that the characterization of a verb as +causal (or as -causal), the way we have described it here, is only loosely tied to the central grammatical notion called activity as distinguished from the lexical notion verb as described in the section on compound verbs. Until this can be done in a satisfactory manner, a description of causal verbs will remain incomplete. The use of the term verb throughout this section is meant to signify this important fact.

## Compound Verbs

### 1. Traditional View.

1.1. Compounding of verbs is a very common phenomenon in MSH. It is one aspect of MSH grammar which is the most discussed, and at the same time the least understood of all. Observe the underlined verb sequences in the following sentences.

वह ज़रा उम्र में छोटी होती तो उसके सम्मुख इतना घना-सा सा संकोच न घिर आता ( जलती झाड़ी, २४ )

ऐसे क्षणों में कितना गहन-सा मौन बाबू के इर्द-गिर्द घिर आता है ( जलती झाड़ी, २५ )

According to Greaves, these compound verbs can be divided into two groups -- (a) those compound verbs "in which two words are joined, giving, generally, one verbal idea," and (b) loose compound verbs, "in which each verb retains, more or less fully, its own proper meaning."

The two examples given above illustrate the close compound verbs. Among the loose compound verbs, he gives examples like जाने देना "to permit to go", रोने लगना "to begin to weep", कह चुकना "to finish speaking", उठ सकना "to be able to rise".

1.2. We need not go into the details of the manner in which various compound verbs are described by these grammarians, except that we shall use this term to indicate all types of verb sequences other than those labelled by us as (a) infinitive plus verb sequences, (b) reversed verb sequences like जा वैठ - as opposed वैठ जा - and (c) verb sequences which can be interpreted as consisting of conjunctive participle plus verb, e.g., जाकर वैठ - will yield जा वैठ - with the dropping of कर . These verb sequences are described in separate sections.

Various ideas have been advanced about the nature of compound verbs in MSH in several technical as well as semi-technical descriptions of the language. A close look at these descriptions reveals that the latest technical statements about the compound verbs, including those based on the generative-transformational approach, have tended to bury the issue under technical formulations rather than making any significant advancement to our understanding of the problem. We will explore the grammatical nature of the compound verbs at some length in the following sections but here we would like to observe that the traditional view -- the subsidiary verbs add to or modify the meaning of the main verb in the compounds -- as well as the technical descriptions based on it seem to have reached a dead end, and no progress in our understanding of this part of MSH grammar is possible without substantially modifying our line of investigation.

1.3. The compounding of verbs can be characterized, at least for the purpose of the following discussion, in terms of sixteen explicators. These explicators are termed as subsidiary verbs in the grammars of MSH. The explicators can be divided into two sets on the basis of their compatibility with verbs. The eight members in each set aan again be divided into four sub-sets each on the basis of their explicative functions in the sentence structure of the language.

Since there is a disagreement among the grammarians about the exact number of explicators, it is necessary to list these explicators before we start discussing their explicative functions. The verbs ले - vs. दे-, आ -vs.जा-, रह- vs. चुक, and सक- vs. पा-form one group and will be called the phase explicators. The verbs रख- vs. छोड़ -, चल - vs. निकल-, उठ -vs. बैठ-, and पड़- vs. डाल - form another group which will be labelled the aspect explicators.

Before setting forth our views about the functions of these explicators in the following sections, we shall first discuss the implications of the current interpretations of the phenomenon of compound verbs. We believe such a discussion, besides establishing the validity of our interpretation, will demonstrate the reasons which have prompted us to discard the current interpretations altogether.

## 2. Functions of Explicators.

2.1. The only functions of the explicators is to explicate the lexical content of main verbs in grammatically specific ways.

By the use of the term explicator we want to emphasize two important facts about the category of explicators in a grammar of MSH, i.e., (a) the category of explicators is a syntactic category in the sense, for instance, the tense system of finite verb, and (b) explicators unfold or develop the lexical content of verbs rather than modify it.

Below we shall discuss the implications of the observation we have made about the functions of explicators.

2.2. Lexical Content of Main Verb: Lexical content of verbs should be distinguished from their semantic definitions given in monolingual dictionaries by means of various kinds of paraphrases etc. or in bilingual dictionaries by means of translation equivalents in another language in various degrees of approximation. For instance, if we look at the semantic definitions of the verb निकल - as given in वृहत् हिन्दी कोश (a monolingual dictionary of MSH).

वाहर होना या आना, प्रकट होना, प्रवाहित होना, गिरना, वहना, उदय होना, व्याप्त या अन्य वस्तुओं के साथ मिली हुई वस्तु का पृथक् होना, जमना, उगना , जड़ी या सटी हुई - वस्तु का आधार से पृथक् होना, दल-वल या वाजे गाजे के साथ एक स्थान से चलकर दूसरे स्थान तक जाना, किसी ओर से वढ़ा होना, उत्पन्न होना, वीच से होकर वाहर आ जाना या पहुंच जाना, पार होना, शरीर पर उत्पन्न होना, उभर आना, पास होना शिक्षा समाप्त करके पृथक् होना, स्थिर किया जाना, सोचा जाना,

वाहर होना या आना, प्रकट होना, प्रवाहित होना, गिरना, वहना, उदय होना, व्याप्य या अन्य वस्तुओं के साथ मिली हुई वस्तु का पृथक् होना, जमना, उगना, जड़ी या सटी हुई वस्तु का आधार से पृथक् होना, दल-वल या वाजे गाजे के साथ एक स्थान से चलकर दूसरे स्थान तक जाना, किसी ओर से वढ़ा होंना, उत्पन्न होना, वीच से होकर वाहर आ जाना या पहुंच जाना, पार होना, शरीर पर उत्पन्न होना, उभर आना, पास होना, शिक्षा समाप्त करके पृथक् होना, स्थिर किया जाना, सोचा जाना, ठहराया जाना, दूर होना, जाता रहना, नष्ट होना, प्राप्त होना, मिलना, व्यक्त होना, खुलना, सिद्ध होना, पूर्ण होना, चलना, आरंभ होना, छिड़ना, अलग होना, पृथक् किया जाना, हल होना, निर्मित होना, तैयार किया जाना, (नदी आदि का) उद्गत होना, वहना, आरंभ करना, खोजा जाना,

आविष्कृत या ईजाद होना, फंसा, वंधा या जुड़ा न रहना, प्रचलित होना, जारी होना, प्रवर्तित होना, अपने को दायित्व से मुक्त करना, पृथक होना, गला छोड़ना, प्रकाशित होना, विकना, खपत होना, सिद्ध होना, सावित होना, विना दंड पाये वच जाना, अपने को मुक्त करना, पकड़, वंधन आदि से मुक्त होना, हिसाव होने पर रकम जिम्मे आना, पावना जाना, समाप्त होना, वीतना, गुजरना, सवारी ढोने या जोताई के लिए शिक्षित होना ।

or at the following 24 definitions given in Bhargava's Hindi-English Dictionary:

"to turn out. to issue, to result, to exceed, to emanate, to emerge, to come out. to spring, to succeed, to proceed, to rise, to be visible, to be projected to be settled. to begin, to result, to be invented, to escape, to deny one's words, to be published, to owe some money after settling accounts, to be rent asunder, to disappear, to be broken (said of a horse)."

we can easily infer that all the above definitions are based on the individual concurrence of this verb in various contexts. No attempt has been made by lexicographers to abstract the lexical content of this verb from these semantic definitions. The prodedures which the lexicographers of MSH have adopted for setting up semantic definitions of verbs cannot lead to an exhaustive listing of their semantic definitions because (a) simple multiplicity of sentence contexts is not a substitute for grammatical environments,aand (b) even if we reach the point of no return in terms of the procedures of lexicographers, we still need a basis for systematizing the polysemy of verbs. In other words, in order to understand the functions of explicators, we must go beyond the semantic definitions of lexicographers and factor out the lexical content of verbs from them. This can be done only when we establish some kind of interrelationship between the various semantic definitions of verbs on the basis of the deep grammatical structure of sentences to which these definitions are confined.

Broadly speaking, an interrelatinnship between the semantic definitions of verbs as given in MSH dictionaries can be established on the basis of three types of grammatical environments represented by the following sentences:

लड़का घर से निकल गया है

राम को फुन्सियां निकल आईं हैं

राम बहुत चतुर निकला

Each and every verb in the language can have these three broad categories of lexical content corresponding to the grammatical environments represented by the above-noted three sentences. The chief grammatical characteristics of these sentences are (a) dependence between the adverb and the verb as illustrated in the first sentence, (b) between the action noun phrase and the bverb, i.e., between राम को फुन्सियां and निकल in the second sentence, and (c) dependence between the complement and the verb examplified by the adjective चतुर and the verb निकल in the third sentence. The above noted three sentences represent the three discreet levels of abstractness of the lexical content of the verb निकल . In the first sentence this verb has a concrete content, i.e., movement from inside out, in the second the content is relatively abstract and there is express mention of "from inside", and in the third sentence the lexical content resembles the content in the first two sentences in a sort of metaphorical manner only. It can be easily shown that all the possible dictionary definitions of this verb, including a good many not given in them cluster around the grammatical environment, represented by the three sentences. The core lexical content of the verb निकल can be abstracted from the above three context sensitive levels of lexical content, which in the case of the examples we are discussing is "movement outward". It is this kind of lexical content of verbs which is explicated by the explicators in the three types of grammatical environments, and not the meanings indicated by the semantic definitions given in the dictionaries of the language.

2.3. Properties of Compounding: The only manner in which a grammarian can describe the phenomenon of compounding of verbs is to set up systematic rules in a grammar of MSH which allow the generation of compound verbs. Before these rules can be set up, he should know exhaustively the manner in which the explicators explicate the lexical content. We must confess that at the present stage of our investigation of the language we are unable to state such rules. We cannot even describe the explicative function of explicators in a satisfactory manner. So we shall limit ourselves to merely illustrating what we have called the properties of compounding. The discussion that follows is nothing more than some sort of helpful suggestions about the phenomenon of compound verbs in MSH.

Properties of compounding can be analyzed in terms of an interaction between several factors -- (a) compatibility between verbs and explicators, (b) occurrence versus non-occurrence of explicators, and, (c) the three levels of lexical content of verbs. Below we will briefly describe the first two factors, and finally try to explain their conjoined working with the third.

2.4. Compatibility between verbs and explicators: The compatibility between verbs and explicators has been formulated in some recent technical descriptions of MSH by positing *ad hoc* classes of verbs on the basis of their supposed occurrence with various explicators. This kind of *ad hoc* classification may be viewed as some kind of advancement over the semi-technical descriptions of traditional grammarians who have made no attempt to introduce any kind of systematization at all. The goal traditional grammarians set for themselves was the identification of explicators with a brief description of the semantic attributes of each explicator. Any systematization of verbs on the basis of their occurence with explicators was considered by them outside the scope of the assumptions with which they operated. In other words, the assumption that the subsidiary verbs modify (or add to) the meaning of the main verb, permitted them to make a clear cut division between the grammar and the dictionary -- the former identified the explicators and the latter would exhaustively list them.

Traditional assumption about the modification of meaning of verbs by explicators, if interpreted in grammatical terms, would allow us to say that the verb कर - is replaced by the compound कर ले - in the following pairs of sentences. Since the substitution of कर by कर ले.

लड़के ने काम किया है
लड़के ने काम कर लिया है

is interpreted as optional juxtaposition of ले - with कर- it follows that the grammatical conditioning factors, if any, which regulate the occurrence versus non-occurrence of explicators in sentences are statable in terms of the kind of *ad hoc* classification of verbs as mentioned earlier. This amounts to a complete misunderstanding of the phenomenon of compound verbs in MSH (or as a matter of fact in all modern Indo-Aryan languages).

Earlier we have stated that the category of explicators is a grammatical category in the sense of the tense system of finite verbs in MSH. This statement of ours implies that the native speaker's choice between कर - and करले - is of the same kind as between करता है and किया है. It also implies that the explicator ले - is a term in the grammatical system of explicators, and that the occurrence of कर ले , as in the above noted sentences, is not a simple-minded substitution of the verb कर - In other words the native speaker's choosing to say करले - rather than कर - or vice versa is not the same thing as the grammatical relationship between कर - and करले - If the native speaker's choice and grammatical relationship between simple and compound verbs (or more specifically, the grammatical relationship between verbs and explicators) were the same thing, it would have been possible for the lexicographer to automatically arrive at the lexical content of कर - as well as of करले - etc. in a dictionary. Leaving aside the problem of the lexical content of करले - we can say, as has been pointed out above, that no single dictionary definition of any MSH verb by itself is equivalent to the lexical content of this verb, or all the definitions of any given verb as given in MSH dictionaries put together are not sufficient ot arrive at the lexical content of these verbs. Since we do not know what the meaning (in our terms, the lexical content) of a verb is we cannot understand the grammatical nature of the modification of the meaning of verbs by explicators. To be able to describe the phenomenon of compounding of verbs, we must, therefore, ask ourselves an entirely different set of questions. Our observation that the category of explicators is a grammatical category was meant just to lead us to such questions.

2.5. The first such question is about the nature of the compatibility between verbs and the explicators. By compatibility between verbs and explicators we do not mean the grammatical relationship between simple and compound verbs. In our sense of the term, a statement about the compatibility between the verbs and the explicators is a statement about the grammatical relationship between these two components of compound verbs. The nature of this compatibility can be made clear by some examples. Observe the following sentences which illustrate the occurrence of the explicators आ-, जा-, सक-, पा-, रह-, चुक-, चल-, पड़ and ले with the verb निकल Each one of these sentences with the exception

राम आगे निकल आया है
राम आगे निकल गया है
राम मुझसे पढ़ाई में आगे निकल गया है
राम को फुन्सियां निकल आई हैं
इस मशिन में कई खराबियां निकल सकती हैं
इस मशिन की खराबियां वड़ी मुश्किल से निकल पाई हैं
उसके मुंह से वात तक नहीं निकल रही
अव तो वात हमारे हाथ से निकल चुकी है
वह सवेरे सवेरे घर से निकल पड़ा
वह आपकी आंख वचा कर निकल चला है
वह ज़रा वाहर तो निकल ले

of the first two can be matched by the following non-sentences where either the corresponding member of the pair (as आ जा ) cannot occur, or if only one member of a pair is permissible with निकल - a slight modification of the sentence yields a non-sentence with this very permissable explicator.

* राम मुझसे पढ़ाई में आगे निकल आया है

* राम को फुन्सियां निकल गई हैं

* इस मशीन में कई खरावियां निकल पाती हैं

* इस मशीन की खरावियां वड़ी मुश्किल से नहीं निकल सकतीं

* उसके मुंह से वात तक नहीं निकल चुकी

* अव तो वात हमारे हाथ से निकल रही है

* वह घर से आगे निकल पड़ा

* वह आपकी आंख वचा कर एक घण्टे से निकल चला है

* वह वड़ी मुश्किल से वाहर तो निकल ले

To the above noted examples we may add two more sentences in which the former will permit none of the explicators आ-, जा-, सक-, पा-, रह-, चुक, पड़-, चल, ले while the latter will admit all of them.

गंगा नदी हिमाल्य पर्वत से निकली है

गंगा नदी से वहुत नहरें निकली हैं

By comparing the sentences with their non-sentence counterparts we can say that the explicators आ-, जा-, सक-, पा-, रह-, चुक-, चल-, and ले- are all compatible with verb निकल- but their occurrence or non-occurence with this verb in sentences undergo selectional constraints. In other words, the compatibility between verbs and explicators, taken in its broad sense, means (a) the occurrence of explicators with verbs indicated in the form of a list irrespective of the grammatical environments which permit or exclude them from occurring in some sentence but not in others, and (b) the occurrence of explicators in sentences as given above as opposed to their non-sentence counterparts. To avoid the confusion in the use of terms we reserve the term *compatibility* for the situation (a) and the term *occurrence* for the situation (b).

It is also necessary to distinguish non-occurrence of compatible explicators as in non-sentences given above from the non-occurrence of incompatible explicators like दे-, डाल-, रख-, निकल- etc. which do not occur with the verb निकल- at all. The non-occurrence of compatible explicators will be designated as *non-occurrence of explicators* and the non-occurrence of incompatible explicators as *incompatibility of explicators*.

It is a necessary condition of the distinction between the two oppositions of compatibility vs. incompatibility and occurrence vs. non-occurrence that the former can be deduced from the latter whereas the reverse does not hold. In other words, all that the grammarian of MSH can do is to set up rules for the occurrence vs. non-occurrence of compatible explicators with verbs. Such a description excludes any reference to the native speaker's motivation behind his choosing करले- rather than कर- or vice-versa. By positing simple-minded substitution relationship between simple and compound verbs, and making an *ad hoc* classification of verbs on the basis of their occurrence (whatever that term means in the context) the grammatical description of compound verbs has been led into a dead end which, as Paul Hacker puts it, can be opened only by having a grammar of the motivations of the speakers of MSH.

Having distinguished compatibility from occurrence and incompatibility from non-occurrence we shall now discuss some of the implications of the distinction between compatibility and incompatibility of explicators with verbs.

## 3. Basis of Compatibility between Verbs and Explicators.

3.1. By distinguishing between compatibility vs. incompatibility and occurrence vs. non-occurrence, and thus showing the grammatical relevance of explicators, the next question we are faced with is the search for a basis which will permit us to deduce a set of explicator compatibility rules. Obviously the compatibility rules cannot be based on the lexical content of verbs because compatibility and incompatibility, as we have used the terms here, are independent of the grammatical environments of verbs.

Before we start looking for such a basis, it is necessary to explain what the explicator compatibility rules are expected to accomplish. Below we list a few verbs along with the explicators indicating compatibility with a plus-sign (+) and incompatibility with a minus-sign (-).

निकल-, + ले-, -दे-, आ, + जा, + चल, -रख-, - - -
भाग-, +ले, दे-, +आ, + जा, +चल, + निकल-,
-रख, - - -
समझ-, +ले, - आ, + जा, +चल, - निकल, - - -
रख-, + ले, +दे, -आ, + जा, - - -

By explicator compatibility rules we mean a set of rules which will correctly imply the plus and minus signs as given above without having to list the explicators in the manner we have done above. Before we try to set up verb rules, it is necessary to explore the basis of traditional interpretation of compound verbs in a little more detail so that the grammatical nature of the phenomenon becomes clear.

## 4. Semantic vs. Grammatical Features of Explicators.

4.1. The discussion about the explicators as given in traditional grammars as well as in some recent technical descriptions of MSH seems to lead to a grammatical interpretation which can be expressed by means of the following rule:

Verb Phrase ------> Verb (Explicator)

A rule such as the above is based on the notion of maximum independence between verbs and explicators. By introducing the term explicator in a grammar of MSH, one can set up sub-rules for classifying the verbs on the basis of their occurrence with explicators.

We have already observed earlier that this is precisely what has been done by some scholars though without making any distinction between compatibility vs. incompatibility and occurrence vs. non-occurrence. On the surface such a classification looks very neat, but it refutes the very purpose it is supposed to serve. We have already given a few examples of restrictions on the occurrence of some explicators. This situation will be discussed in detail in subsection five. These selectional constraints cannot be introduced in the grammar if the term explicative is understood to have maximum independence from the verb in the manner of the above-noted rule.

Let us assume for the moment that the grammarians' interpretation is correct. In order to handle the problem of selectional constraints we can discard the ad hoc classification, and introduce feature rules of the verbs as well as of the explicators in a grammar keeping the above-noted rule intact.

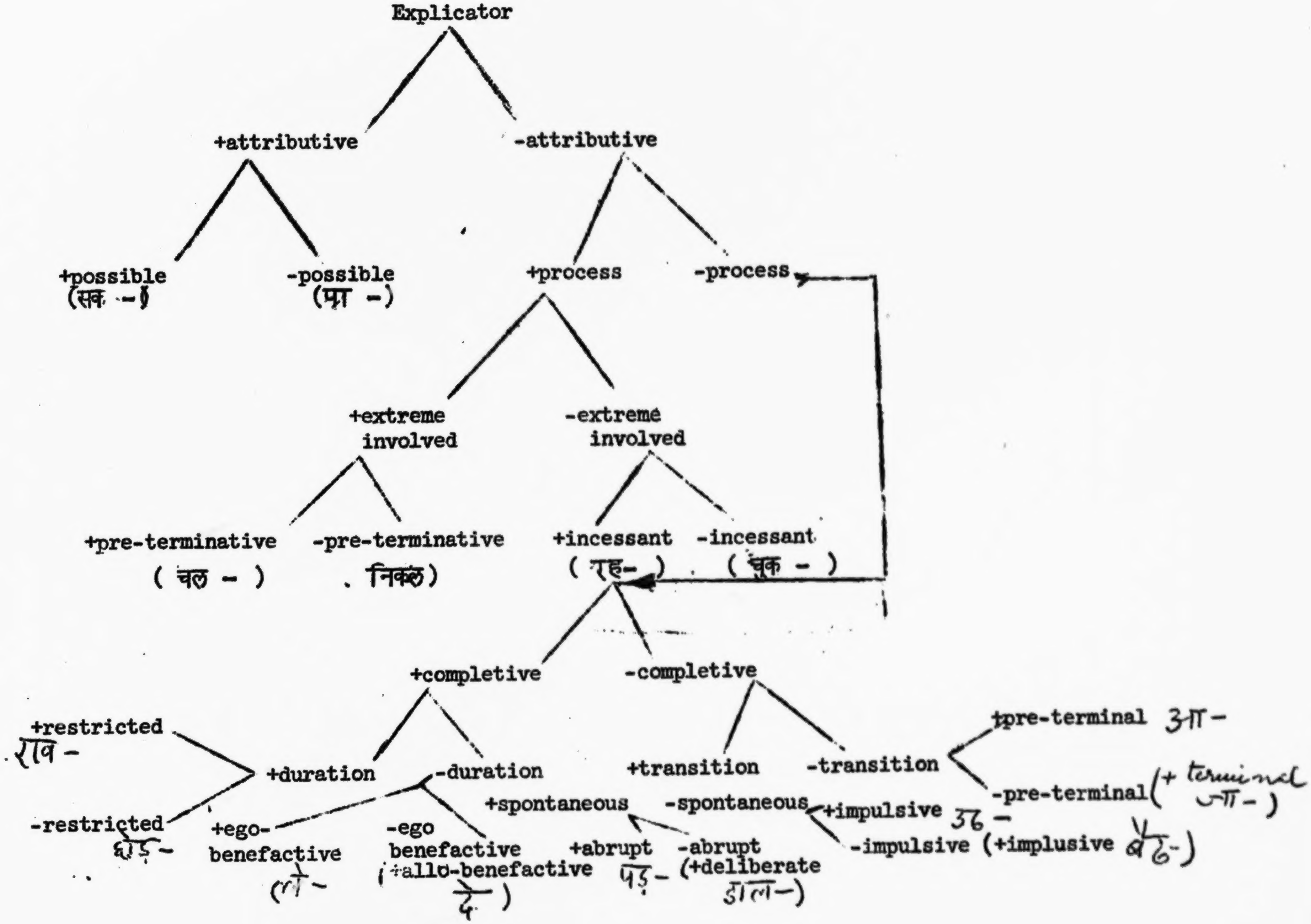
The explicator feature rules can be stated in the following manner:

Explicator --------------> [± attributive]
[+attributive] ------------> [±possible]
[-attributive] ------------> [± process]
[+process] ----------------> [± extreme involved]
[+extreme involved] -------> [± pre-terminative]
[-extreme involved] -------> [± incessant]
[-process] ----------------> [+ completion]
[+completion --------------> [± duration]
[+duration] ---------------> [+ restricted]
[-duration] ---------------> [± ego-benefactive]
[-completion] -------------> [± transition]
[+transition] -------------> [± spontaneous]
[+spontaneous] ------------> [±abrupt]

[-spontaneous] -----------------> [±impulsive]

[-transition] ------------------> [± pre-terminal]

We reproduce these rules below by means of a diagram indicating the positive representation of the various negative terms along with their corresponding explicators so that the nature of the dimensions involved in the feature specification of explicators become clear.


Explicator
+attributive
-attributive
+possible
(सक -)
-possible
(पा -)
+process
-process
+extreme involved
-extreme involved
+pre-terminative
( चल - )
-pre-terminative
. निकल)
+incessant
( रह- )
-incessant
( चुक - )
+completive
-completive
+restricted
रख -
-restricted
छोड़-
+duration
-duration
+ego-benefactive
(ले-
-ego benefactive
(+allo-benefactive
दे )
+spontaneous
-spontaneous
+abrupt
पड़-
-abrupt
(+deliberate
डाल-)
+transition
-transition
+pre-terminal आ-
-pre-terminal(+ terminal
जा- )
+impulsive उठ-
-impulsive (+implusive बैठ-)

Explicator feature rules of the kind as given above can be matched into a set of feature rules of the verbs also so that we can dispense with the necessity of ad hoc classification. Among the eight pairs of explicators which we have analyzed in the terms of the features, the following four pairs of explicators generally occur with mutually exclusive classes of verbs.

| | |
|---|---|
| pre-termative | चल - |
| past-inceptive | निकल - |
| | |
| duration restricted | रख - |
| duration unrestricted | छोड़ - |
| | |
| abrupt transition | पड़ - |
| deliberate transition | डाल - |
| | |
| impulsive | उठ - |
| compulsive | बैठ - |

The other four pairs as listed below occur quite freely with mutually inclusive classes of verbs. Therefore for the purpose of illustrating explicator compatibility rules based on the interpretation that the term explicator is maximally independent of verbs, we shall concentrate on the latter four pairs of explicators only.

Activity denoted by verbs can be interpreted as having two successive phases on the basis of their compatability with the pairs सक - पा-, रह- चुक-, ले- दे- and आ- जा-, Observe the following pairs of sentences in which the same verbs when followed by सक-, रह-, ले- and आ - means quite the opposite of its occurrence with - पा -, चुक -, दे- and जा - respectively.

वे कभी यह न सोच पाये कि धन अब उनकी हवेलियों में टिक नहीं पाता

( सुहाग, १७७ )

वे कभी यह न सोच पाये कि धन अब उनकी हवेलियों में टिक नहीं सकता

टेबुल लैम्प का आलोक उसके सफेद माथे पर गिर रहा था

( वे दिन, २११ )

उसने मेज को पास खिसका लिया

उसने मेज को परे खिसका दिया

उसके बाल खुल कर कन्धों पर गिर आये थे

उन्होंने अंगड़ाई ली, कन्धे पर का उत्तरीय धरती पर गिर गया

All the verbs are compatible with सक- पा-, रह - and चुक - but the same is not true of ले -, दे - , आ - and जा - There are verbs like रख - which are com- ले-, दे- and जा- The verbs like निकल are compatible with आ -, जा- and ले- There are other verbs, for example समझ- बैठ - देख - etc. which are compatible with ले - and जा only. Below we list all the compatible explicators for these three classes of verbs. The two phases of verbs

| निकल | | समझ | | रख | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| सक - | पा - | सक - | पा - | सक - | पा - |
| रह - | चुक - | रह - | चुक - | रह - | चुक - |
| ले - | X | ले - | | ले - | दे - |
| आ - | जा - | X | जा - | X | जा - |

can be termed as penultimate and ultimate on the basis of their compatibility with सक -, रह -, ले , आ - पा - , चुक - , दे-, जा-respectively. As the above table indicates, निकल is compatible with all the explicator of its penultimate phase. Similarly, रख admits all the explicators of its ultimate phase. The verb समझ is neither compatible with all the explicators of its penultimate phase nor with all the explicators of its ultimate phase. On this basis we can interpret, that for निकल the penultimate phase, for रख the utlimate phase, and for समझ neither the penultimate nor the ultimate are primary phases. The primary phase is regarded as pre-supposing the secondary phase but the reverse does not hold.

If we take a look at the above-noted table, we can see that the penultimate phase of समझ is like that of रख - and its ultimate phase is like that of निकल - . On the basis of primary vs. secondary interpretation of penultimate and ultimate phases, we can say that निकल - is +penultimate, रख +ultimate and समझ -penultimate, -ultimate. The four term opposition between ± ultimate and ± penultimate can be reduced to an overlapping opposition by the following rules:

Verb phase ----------> ± ultimate

-Ultimate ----------> ± penultimate

Accordingly we can represent रख as + ultimate, निकल as + penultimate, and समझ as -penultimate. Further, the verb phases are required only for the compatibility of various terms of -process and not for +attributive and +process terms.

Now we can introduce the explicator compatibility rules using the same dset of features as we did before in the following manner:

निकल +Verb, +penultimate --------->[± attributive]
[-attributive] ---------------->[± process]

[-process] ------------------->[± ego]

[-ego] ------------------> [± pre-terminal]

independent status to simple verbs. In this sense a simple verb, if we still want to retain the term, exists as an abstract item in the dictionary only but not in the grammar. The simple verbs of traditional grammars as illustrated below by the contrast between रह जा - and रह - , are derived from compound verbs by means of rules of selectional constraints of various sorts. These selectional constraints will be discussed in the verb subsection.

क्या तुमसे बात नहीं हुई , वह पूछना चाहती, लेकिन फिर चुप रह जाती ( कहानी, ३४२ )

बहिन [illegible] ( कहानी, ३४३ )

The alternative analysis is based on the distinction between a verb as a lexical item and its occurrence in a sentence as an activity. An activity manifests itself as a phase or as an aspect. Manifestations of an activity as a phase or as an aspect are inherent characteristics of an activity. In other words, a verb stem minus explicator is a grammarian's as well as a lexicographer's abstraction. The manifestations of an activity as phase or as aspect are represented by sixteen verbs (as lexical items) which explicate these manifestations. Accordingly we can divide the sixteen explicators into two sets and label them as phase and aspect explicators respectively.

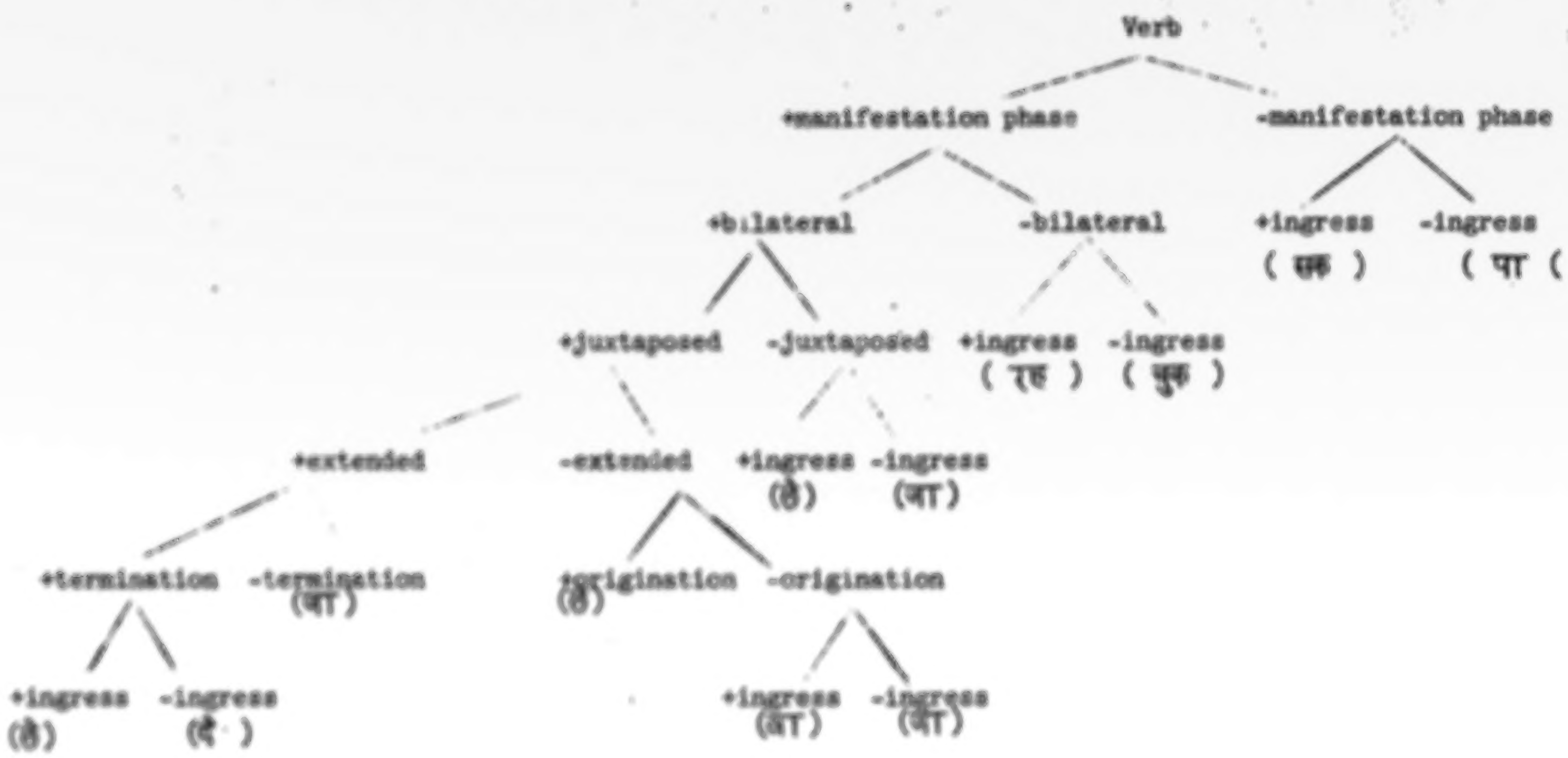
The occurrence of an explicator in a sentence is an expressed representation of the manifestation of an activity. Its non-occurrence indicates the implied manifestation. In other words, verbs function in the deep grammar of the language as activities of various kinds which do not reside outside their manifestations. Therefore, in the deep grammar there is only one possibility, i.e., Verb Phrase--------------> Verb Explicator. In view of the distinction we have made between a verb and an activity, of which only the latter has manifestations, the rule we have just written does not quite express this kind of deep distinction. It can be modified in the following manner, where the term verb in the deep grammar stands for activity, and in the lexical component stands for the lexical items usually called verbs with their various manifestations indicated along with them. The compatibility between verbs and explicators was, therefore, an analytical device which can now be dispensed with.

Verb Phrase -----------> Verb Ending

Limiting ourselves to the discussion about the eight phase explicators, we should now formulate a set of rules which would be counterpart of explicator compatibility rules given earlier. We will call these rules verb phase manifestation rules. They are as follows:

+Verb ------------------>[± manifestation]$_{\text{pha-}}$
[+manifestation]$_{\text{phase}}$ ---------->[± belateral]
[-manifestation]$_{\text{phase}}$ ---------->[± ingress]
[+bilateral] ------------>[± juxtaposed]
[-bilateral]------------->[± ingress]
[+juxtaposed] ----------->[± extended]
[+extense] -------------->[± termination]
[-extense] -------------->[± origination]
[+termination]----------->[± ingress]
[-origination] --------->[ ± ingress]

These rules can be represented by means of a diagram as follows. The eight explicators are indicated at the appropriate places in the diagram.


Verb
+manifestation phase
-manifestation phase
+bilateral
-bilateral
+ingress
( सक )
-ingress
( पा (
+juxtaposed
-juxtaposed
+ingress
( रह )
-ingress
( चुक )
+extended
-extended
+ingress
(है)
-ingress
(जा)
+termination
-termination
(जा)
+origination
(है)
-origination
+ingress
(है)
-ingress
(दे )
+ingress
(जा)
-ingress
(जा)

The full implications of the above rules will become clear in the subsequent discussions. Therefore, we shall mention only a few of the properties of these rules in this section.

Grammatically the two members in all the four pairs of explicators, i.e., सक - vs. पा -, रह - vs. चुक , ले vs. दे and आ - vs. जा , are uniformly opposed to each other, the unmarked member is +ingress (indicating ingress into the activity denoted by a verb) and the unmarked member -ingress (indicating either egress or non-ingress out of the activity denoted by a verb). The terms +ingress and -ingress are independent of the semantic proliferation of verbs by means of explicators whereas the semantic proliferation can only be understood and systematically expressed on their basis.

The oppostion +manifestation vs. -manifestation roughly corresponds to the opposition +attributive vs. -attributive in reverse. Similarly, the opposition +bilateral vs. - bilateral corresponds to the opposition +process vs. -process in reverse. The terms +bilateral and -bilateral simply indicate the phase manifestation along two dimensions and along a single dimension. Within +bilateral , there is opposition between +juxtaposed vs. -juxtaposed . Within +juxtaposed , +extended (indicating the extension of the activity from a source to a recipient) vs. -extended . Within +extended, +termination (i.e., the activity originates in a source but terminates in a recipient) vs. -termination (non-committal as to origination or termination). Within -extended, +origination (implying only the origination) vs. -origination.

All the above terms represent systematic abstract relations obtained within the phase-manifestation of activity in the deep grammar and are independent of the semantic characterizations of the phenomenon of compound verbs.

Before explaining the manner in which the phase-manifestation activity rules work in the sentence structure of MSH, it is necessary to go into the details of occurrence vs. non-occurrence of explicators. We shall discuss this in the next subsection.

## 5. Occurrence vs. non-occurrence of explicators.

5.1. By occurrence vs. non-occurrence of explicators, we mean the grammatical realization of the phase or the aspect manifestations of activity. The term grammatical realization refers to selectional constraints imposed upon the two manifestations of an activity by the grammatical environment. In this section we shall be concerned primarily with the selectional constraints only, without going into the details of the environment.

These selectional constraints should not be confused with the choice made by a native speaker, in the sense that he may choose to represent an activity in one or the other phase or aspect manifestation. In other words, the native speaker's choice between कर दे-, कर चुक, कर सक- etc., within the limits of lexical concept proliferation, is a lexical choice from the point of view of grammar, but his choice of कर - alone is not. The native speaker exercises the same sort of option in the choice between कर सक-, or कर दे- etc. as he does between करूंगा or किया है etc. Therefore, by means of occurrence vs. non-occurrence of explicators in sentences, we want to order the directly observable phenomena along these lines so that we could gain an understanding of the operation of grammatical constraints. This distinction should be clearly understood because it can be easily confused with the notion of maximum independence of explicators and thus with the simple-minded oppositions between a simple and compound verb.

The regularities in the occurrence vs. non-occurrence of explicators in sentences can be ordered along the dimensions obligatory vs. optional. The obligatory occurrence is opposed to their optional non-occurrence. The obligatory occurrence can be contrasted with optional occurrence, and obligatory non-occurrence with optional non-occurrence. The two-term contradiction between obligatory occurrence and optional non-occurrence on the one hand, or obligatory non-occurrence and optional occurrence on the other does not seem to be of any relevance.

Obligatory occurrence of explicators refers to those situations where dropping of an explicator occurring in a sentence (a) will yield a non-sentence (b). On the other hand, obligatory non-occurrence

(a) इस पुस्तक की बहुत सी गलतियां निकल गईं हैं

(b) * इस पुस्तक की बहुत सी गलतियां निकली हैं

covers those sentences (c) which will not permit the occurrence of an explicator (d) which may be compatible with the verb in other sentences. Optional occurrence means a sentence without an explicator

(c) लड़का बहुत लायक निकला

(d) * लड़का बहुत लायक निकल गया

will permit one or more explicators permissible in it. For example, the following sentences.

वह लड़का सवेरे - सवेरे घर से निकला
निकल गया
निकल पड़ा

At the moment, we are bypassing the question of grammatical interpretation of the sentence without an explicator. Therefore, the term optional occurrence includes those sentences where the non-occurrence of compatible explicators in terms of the criteria used by us remains undetermined.

There are some situations where a sentence, being a part of a larger environment, may or may not occur with an explicator which is obligatory for it to qualify as a sentence when it occurs by itself.

वह लड़का पढ़ाई में मुझसे आगे निकला तो है
निकल तो गया है

लेकिन जल्दी ही मैं उसके साथ मिल जाऊंगा

वह लड़का पढ़ाई में मुझसे आगे निकल गया है

* वह लड़का पढ़ाई में मुझसे आगे निकला है

Optional non-occurrence, in other words, refers to the ellipsis of an explicator which can be recovered on the basis of the environment in which a sentence without an obligatory explicator occurs. Obligatory occurrence of an explicator, e.g., of जा - in the sentence वह पढ़ाई में मुझसे आगे निकल गया है when contrasted with optional occurrence of the pair जा- आ- in the following sentences yields some interesting results.

वह सवेरे - सवेरे घर से निकला
निकल गया
निकल आया

An explicator, the occurrence of which is obligatory with a verb in one environment (as of जा - in the sentence वह पढ़ाई में मुझसे आगे निकल गया है ), and is at the same time optionally substitutable by its opposite counterpart with the same verb in the same general environment (as of आ in the sentence वह सवेरे - सवेरे घर से निकल आया है ), is the primary explicator of the pair which has first order compatibility with that verb in this general environment. In other words, of the pair आ - and जा - which are first order compatible explicators of the verb निकल , जा - is primary explicator of this verb in the environments where the dependence between the verbs and adverbs is maximum. All semantic definitions of verbs like निकल - given in MSH dictionaries and based on dependence between adverbs and verbs imply the occurrence of this primary explicator in the contexts from which these definitions have been abstracted.

It is not a necessary condition that if one member of a pair of explicators is primary in one environment, as is जा - for the verb निकल - in the grammatical environment of the level one of lexical content, it will have the same status in the environments of the other two levels of lexical content. In the case of the verb निकल - , जा - becomes the secondary explicator and आ - the primary in the environment of action noun phrases. All occurrences of जा - with the verb निकल - in the environment of action noun phrases constitute instances of its obligatory occurrence and those of आ - of optional occurrence. Finally of the जा - आ - only आ - is compatible with निकल in the environment of complements in a limited manner.

Examples have been given above contending that both जा - and आ - cannot occur with the verb निकल in the environment of complements. Therefore, the occurrence of आ - with निकल - in this environment requires some explanation. Compare the following sentences:

वह लड़का बहुत लायक निकला

यदि वह लड़का बहुत लायक निकला तो क्या होगा
निकल आया

इतने लड़कों में से कोई न कोई तो लायक निकले ही गा
निकल ही आयेगा

The occurrence of आ - in the above noted sentences cannot be interpreted as instances of optional occurrence, and therefore even the very exhaustive dictionaries have missed its explicative function in these environments.

There are some environments where the obligatory occurrence of an explicator becomes its obligatory non-occurrence.

इस मशीन की खराबियां दो दिन में निकल जायेंगी। (obligatory occurrence)

जब तक मशीन की खराबियां निकलेंगी तब तक मुझे इसकी जरूरत न रहेगी
(obligatory non-occurrence)

Sometimes an instance of obligatory occurrence can become an instance of optional occurrence. Such a situation cannot be considered as a contradiction of the assertion that the occurrence of a secondary explicator cannot be an instance of optional occurrence in the environment of action noun phrases. The contrast between obligatory occurrence of जा - with निकल reduced to its optional occurrence in a conditional sentence like the above has been illustrated here to show its contrastive significance with the preferred जा - passive construction. This limited function of जा - has gone completely unnoticed in MSH grammars.

इस मशीन की खराबियां निकल गईं हैं (obligatory occurrence)

जब तक इस मशीन की खराबियां न निकलेंगी (optional occurrence)
निकल जायेंगी
तब तक मेरा काम रुका रहेगा

जब तक इस मशीन की खराबियां न निकाली जायेंगी तब तक
मेरा काम रुका रहेगा ( जा - passive)

Now we shall discuss a few instances of opposition between optional occurrence vs. optional non-occurrence of explicators. There are various possibilities of optional occurrence of explicators, viz., (a) between the members of the same pair and (b) between the members of different pairs. Two further sub-types can be distinguished on the basis of the oppostion of primary vs. secondary. A third variety of optional occurrence is between an explicator and its absence. Such a situation is limited only to the primary explicators of verbs in the environment of action noun phrases. The only possibility which will contrast with the occurrence of a primary explicator and its absence is the optional non-occurrence of the secondary member of the pair. Observe the undernoted sentences. Now if we compare these two sentences with the same sentences occurring in larger

गर्म पानी से धोने से इस कपड़े का निकलेगा (optional
निकल जायेगा occurrence)

गर्म पानी से धोने से इस कपड़े का रंग निकल जायेगा (obligatory occurrence) environments, the contrast between जा - and आ - is reversed.

गर्म पानी से धोने से इस कपड़े का रंग निकल आयेगा

लेकिन कपड़ा भी फट जायगा (obligatory occurrence)

गर्म पानी से धोने से इस कपड़े का रंग निकलेगा
निकल जायगा
लेकिन कपड़ा भी फट जायगा

The situation illustrated above by the contrast between the optional occurrence of a primary explicator and the optional non-occurrence of its secondary counterpart generates ambiguities.

गर्म पानी से धोने से इस कपड़े का रंग निकल रहा है
"to fade"

"to brighten"

Ambiguities of the kind illustrated above are removed by employing the aspectual endings after the primary verbs in compounds.

गर्म पानी से धोने से इस कपड़े का रंग निकलता आ रहा है
गर्म पानी से धोने से इस कपड़े का रंग निकला जा रहा है
निकलता जा रहा है

However, there is no ambiguity in the following sentences:

गर्म पानी से धोने से इस कपड़े का रंग निकल पड़ा है
"to brighten up"

गर्म पानी से धोने से इस कपड़े का रंग निकल चुका है
"to fade away"

In some cases, the language will tolerate the ambiguity unless in some environments it becomes absolutely necessary to resolve it. Compare the following sentences where the ambiguity in

निकल सक - has been resolved by
निकल आ सक - and निकल जा सक -

respectively.

गर्म पानी से घोने से इस कपड़े का रंग निकल सकता है

"to brighten"

"to fade"

गर्म पानी से घोने से इस कपड़े का रंग निकल आ सकता है
निकल जा सकता है

5.2. The conclusions which emerge from the above-noted discussion are as follows:

(a) selectional constraints on the occurrence or non-occurrence of explicators in sentences operate differently on the grammatical environments implied by the three categories of lexical content,

(b) the grammatical environments of the primary category of lexical content of verbs permit a variety of choices of phase or aspect manifestations of an activity which are considerably constrained by the grammatical environments of the secondary level, and still more constrained by the grammatical content of verbs,

(c) the occurrence of simple verbs is explainable only on the basis of the different selectional constraints operating upon the manifestations of an activity within the grammatical environments of the three categories of lexical content as illustrated in the following sentences with the verb निकल -,

लड़का सवेरे - सवेरे घर से निकला (primary level)

लड़के को वहुत फिन्सियां निकली हैं (secondary level)

लड़का वहुत लायक निकला (tertiary level)

In other words, the simple verb निकल - in the above-noted three sentences, due to the difference in their underlying structures, does not represent the same underlying phase or aspect manifestation of this verb in all the three sentences. Also none of the three occurrences of this verb represents the lexicographers' abstracted lexical entry निकल - in a dictionary in the sense of the grammarians' rule Verb Phrase ---------> Verb (Explicator).

## 6. Three Categories of Lexical Content of Verbs.

6.1. Now we shall try to systematize the bilateral phase manifestation of the verb निकल - on the basis of the occurrence vs. non-occurrence of the explicators आ - and जा - with this verb in sentences in terms of the phase-manifestation rules of the subsection 4.2. Since we do not possess a systematic knowledge of the details of the environments implied by the three categories of lexical content of verbs, we shall use the terms primary, secondary and tertiary categories of lexical content as operational substitutes for these grammatical environments.

Within the primary category of lexical content of the verb निकल - the occurrence vs. non-occurrence of the explicators आ - vs. जा - can be interpreted as a result of the application of the following selectional constraints to the phase-manifestation rules:

(a) interpret +[-origination]as -[-origination]

(b) delete +[+ingress]

The environments in which निकल - is +[-origination] will not be affected by the rule (a). The phase +[+ingress] in the environments in which it is not deleted will remain as such.

The selectional constraint (a) will yield the following sentences:

कामिनी मिली । वह कहीं जाने के लिए चेस्टर पहने घर से निकली ही थी

( कंटीली राह, ४४ )

शाम को मैं गया । कामिनी ही बाहर निकली और मुझे देखते ही फ़ौरन भीतर चली गई

( कटीली राह, २५ )

मैं तो रोज ही उधर से निकलती हूं । वह मुस्कराने लगी

( कटीली राह, १४८ )

परन्तु एक दिन मैंने कामिनी को देखा । मैं होटल से निकल कर पान खाने निकला था ।

( कटीली राह, १३८ )

Selectional constraint (b) will yield the following sentences.

वह साइकिल पर दूर निकल गई थी

( कटीली राह, २५ )

हम दोनों दूर-दूर घूमने के लिए निकल जाते

( कटीली राह, ८० )

कामिनी उस समय तक चुप रही जब तक एक लड़का साइकल पर सामने आ कर हम दोनों को घूरता हुआ बगल से निकल नहीं गया

( कटीली राह, ११२ )

यह तारकोल की पतली और साफ़-सुथरी सड़क, जो दूर तक निकल गई थी, बाएं को ही लचक के साथ घूम कर पार्क को चली जाती थी

( कटीली राह, ११६ )

कभी लड़कों या लड़कियों का छोटा जत्था या कोई खुशहाल जोड़ा मिल जाता । वे हम दोनों को उत्सुकतापूर्वक घूरते या मुस्कराते बग़ल से निकल जाते

( कटीली राह, ११६ )

The environments in which both the constraints (a) as well as (b) do not apply are illustrated by the following sentences.

कोई कोई बाहर भी निकल आया

( कहानी, ३०६ )

दो तीन स्त्रियां पालकी से बाहर निकल आई थीं

( बाढ़, ८२ )

कि उसने मेरी बांह किस - - - पकड़कर हांल में ले जाकर रख दी और भीतर हांल को बन्द करके बाहर निकल आई

( कटीली राह, ४६ )

धीरे - धीरे सभी निकल गये । मैं तब भी बरामदे में अकेला खड़ा था

( कटीली राह, १८ )

फिर घूम कर कमरे से बाहर निकल गई

( कटीली राह, १४९ )

वह धीरे से उठी और मेरी ओर अत्यधिक नाराज़गी से देखती हुई कमरे से बाहर निकल गई

( कटीली राह, ९६ )

The environments of the secondary level of lexical content impose the following selectional constraints on the phase-manifestations of the verb

(a) interpret +[+ingress] as ±[ingress] and +[-ingress], as -[-ingress]

Or:(b) delete +[+ingress] and interpret -[-ingress] as +[-ingress].

Condition (a) will yield the following kinds of sentences.

उस दिन भी कोई काम निकल आया था न तुम्हें

( डैडी, ७० )

आसमान खुल गया था और धूप खिल कर निकल आई थी

( ग० रू०, १३८ )

चाँद निकल आया था लेकिन अभी वह बहुत नीचे था

( जलती झाड़ी, ७६ )

रेत और मलबे के ढूह ऐसे लगे हैं, मानो कच्ची सड़क के
माथे पर गोमड़े निकल आये हों

( जलती झाड़ी, २१ )

Condition (b) will yield the sentences where the occurrence of जा - is obligatory.

--कि सचमुच जिसने सांप-सी उसकी उम्र पकड़ से निकली जा रही है, और धीरे-धीरे सारी निकल जायेगी

( उखड़े हुए लोग, १८ )

फिर भी मैंने सोचा, बात अब मेरे हाथ से निकल गई है

( कहानी, २६१ )

In the grammatical environments of the tertiary category of lexical content, the phase +[-ingress] is deleted, and the phase +[+ingress] is interpreted as ±[+ingress]. A few sentences illustrating the phase -[+ingress] are given below.

जिस लड़की को मैंने धीरेन्द्र की प्रेमिका समझा था वह उसकी बहन निकली

( कंटीली राह, १६ )

लेकिन मेरा अन्दाजा गलत निकला

( कहानी, २६२ )

Finally it may not be without interest to give a few examples of sentences containing the verb निकल - alone representing the aspect manifestation of this verb. In the following sentences the occurrence of the verb निकल - involves the dropping of the explicator पड़ -

उसके मुख से आह निकली

( कंटीली राह, ६६ )

यह गलत है । मेरे मुंह से आवाज निकली

( कंटीली राह, १२५ )

कामिनी । किसी घायल व्यक्ति की कराह की तरह मेरे मुंह से आवाज निकली

( कंटीली, ११३ )

6.2. Now we shall ilustrate a variety of situations about the phenomenon of compound verbs not exemplified by the verb निकल -

The verb रख - which is a +[+extended] verb occurs as a verbalizer verb with a good many action noun phrases. In the environment of these action noun phrases, it is always a +[-manifestation] verb, and therefore does not occur with the explicators

ले -, दे -, जा -, रह -, and चुक -,

The -manifestation explicators सक -, and पा - are thus the only explicators which can occur with this verb in these environments. Below we list such action noun phrases with this verb.

N के ऊपर स्नेह रख -
N की अटक रख -
N का अधिकार रख -
N की देखभाल रख -
N का ध्यान रख -
N का दृष्टिकोण रख -

N की पात्रता रख -
N की समता रख -
N पर अंकुश रख -

N पर बातें रख -
N पर ध्यान रख -
N पर दृष्टि रख-
N पर निमन्त्रण रख -
N पर प्रभाव रख -
N पर भरोसा रख -

अ पर रोष रस -
अ पर विश्वास रस -
अ में अनुराग रस -
अ में आशा रस -
अ में कदम रस -
अ में कमाल रस -
अ में क्षमता रस -

अ के लिये मतलूब रस -
अ से अनुराग रस -
अ से आशा रस -
अ से काम रस -
अ से डाह रस -

6.3. The verb उतर - in the environment of a great majority of action noun phrases undergoes the selectional constraint (b) mentioned above in the case of the verb निकल -, , i.e., obligatorily requires the occurrence of the explicator जा - हो१ - A few such action noun phrases are given below with the verb उतर -

N की शर्म उतर -
N का मोह उतर -
N का बुखार उतर -
N की हड्डी उतर -
N का क्रोध उतर -
N का जोश उतर -
N के पाप उतर -
N की जवानी उतर -
N का मुंह उतर -
N का बदला उतर -
N का पहिया उतर -

6.4. While discussing the selectional constraints imposed by the grammatical environments of the tertiary category of lexical content on the verb निकल -, we took it for granted that this verb is +[+bilateral], +[+juxtaposed]. It may be interesting to observe the manner in which the selectional constraints of the tertiary level operate when a verb is +[+bilateral] but +[-juxtaposed]. Observe the following sentences with the verb which is such a verb. The sentences

वह बहुत दुखी हो गया है
वह बहुत सुखी हो गया है
उसको बहुत दु:ख हुआ है

उसको बहुत सुख हुआ है

with the explicator जा - can occur without it, and the ones without जा - cannot occur with it.

वह बहुत दुखी हुआ है

वह बहुत सुखी हुआ है

*उसको बहुत दु:ख हो गया है

*उसको बहुत सुख हो गया है

The verb हो - is +[-ingress] in the environments where the verb निकल - is +[+ingress], i.e., in the environment of complements.

The varieties of examples given above illustrate that the selection of one or the other member of the pairs of explicators ले - vs. दे -, आ - vs. जा - , रह - vs. चुक - and सक - vs. पा - are regulated by higher order constraints which can be expressed by means of the choice between +manifestation vs. -manifestation and +bilateral vs. -bilateral phase-manifestations of an activity. These higher order choices are either expressed or implied in sentences on which the selectional constraints on + or -ingress phases of the activity operate. What we have tried to illustrate is just a part of the grammatical properties of the phenomenon of compound verbs. This seemingly complicated part of MSH grammar can be simplified a great deal by developing proper control over the data.

## 7. The Aspect Explicators.

7.1. Our description of compound verbs, incomplete and sketch as it is, does require some comment about the aspect explicators.

The distinction between aspect vs. phase manifestations of an activity, as these two terms imply, is based on the fact that an aspect manifestation describes an activity and a phase manifestation represents it as a change from one state to another. The following sentences illustrate the contrast between the two manifestations of an activity, i.e., as a descriptive aspect vs. a changing phase.

वह कुछ कहने जा रही थी कि सहसा चौंक पड़ी
( कटीली राह, १०८ )

परन्तु मुझको देखकर वे दोनों चौंक उठे
( कटीली राह, १४० )

उपेक्षा का भाव ? मैं चौंक गया ( कटीली राह, १२५ )

क्या ? उसका गम्भीर चेहरा खिल उठा
( कटीली राह, ८६ )

उसका चेहरा फूल की तरह खिल गया
( कटीली राह, १०४ )

उसके आते ही कमरा खुशबू से भर उठता
( कटीली राह, ८० )

यह सोचकर अंजनी कुमार के प्रति दिल घृणा से भर गया
( कटीली राह, ६१ )

These few examples, as well as a lot more given in section 8, amply illustrate that the aspect explicators represent a kind of comment about the activity whereas the phase explicators indicate its factual nature. These comments about the activity are qualitative and imply either the state of progress or the manner in which an activity is understood to be taking place. The explicators रह vs. छोड़ and चल vs. निकल indicate the state of progress of an activity, and उठ vs. बैठ and पड़ vs. डाल.

refer to the manner of its taking place.

7.2. A few more observations can be made at this stage of our investigation about the aspect explicators. Various aspect manifestations of activity, unlike their phase counterparts, are not inherent in each and every verb. The overwhelming tendency in the language seems to be that the mutually exclusive classes of verbs are associated with different aspects. For instance, all the onomatopoetic verbs prefer उठ - over पड़ - The classes of verbs occurring with पड़ - vs. डाल - are also mutually exclusive. Both रख - and छोड़ never occur with intranstive verbs like the explicator डाल - The text frequency of aspect explicators, as compared to the phase explicators, is extremely low, and for this reason we are unable to determine the grammatical constraints which govern the occurrence vs. non-occurrence in sentences. It may also be remarked that the semantic features of the aspect explicators seem to contribute relatively more uniformly to the concept proliferation of verbs but this cannot be properly determined without first establishing their conditioning grammatical environments as well as setting up systematic relationships between the aspect and phase manifestations of activity.

## 8. Semantic Categorization of Explicators.

8.1. In this section we shall illustrate the contrasts between the members of the eight pairs of explicators. While doing so we will try to categorize the various semantic components involved in these contrasts more or less adopting the approach of the traditional grammarians. It will not only serve to substantiate what we have already described in a simple, sketchy way in the earlier sections but will also act as a substitute (though a very poor one) for the rules for generating compound verbs.

It should also be mentioned here that the discussion of the semantic contrasts is based on an earlier formulation about the semantic features of explicators. This formulation was later discarded because it was not found to be adequate. However, no attempt is made to revise this section in the light of the views we have expressed in the earlier sections. So the section 8 as it now represents a sort of basis for the formulation of verbal concept proliferation rules. After systematically setting up the aspect as well as phase manifestation rules, and the selectional constraints rules, and systematically combining them with the lexical features of verbs, one can set up verbal concept proliferation rules. We believe that the formulation of these rules has been the goal of traditional grammarians as well as the lexicographers of MSH. The fact that the formulation of verbal concept proliferation rules is an attainable goal constitutes a measure of the validity and the correctness of the grammatical interpretation of the phenomenon of compound verbs.

### 8.2. आ : जा

8.2.1. As our labels in subsection indicate, both आ - and जा - indicate movement; the former towards a point and the latter away from a point.

उसकी आखें मुझ पर उठ आईं
( वे दिन, ८२ )
मेरी आखें उस पर उठ गईं
( वे दिन , १३७ )

This contrast between आ - and जा - may be realized in several different manners. Compare the following pair of sentences with the above.

उस समय उसकी शिरायें उखड़ आतीं और नीली हो जातीं
( चारू, २३ )
— पर उसकी जड़ कहीं गंदे, नीचे वैठे हुए, कुरूप कीचड़ से उखड़ तो नहीं गई, इसका उसे ध्यान ही नहीं रहा ।
( ठेले, ६६ )

The verb उखड़ -, as its glosses indicate, represents a span of activity which can be viewed as divided into two parts. आ - can be regarded as covering one part of the span, and जा - as covering the rest of it or all of it. The occurrence of different nouns as subject or the absence of adverbs does not make any difference in the contrast between आ and जा . The following sentences illustrate this point.

पौधे की जड़ पूरी की पूरी उखड़ आई है

पौधे की जड़ पूरी की पूरी उखड़ गई है

In some situations the occurrence of आ -: जा - can be regarded as presence of lack of intensity vs. absence of lack of intensity.

तमतमा आ - "to be growing red (in the face)"

सबके चेहरे तमतमा आए थे ( राह, १५ )

तमतमा जा - "to get excited"

मानसिंह का चेहरा तमतमा गया था ( कचनार, १६६ )

छिटक आ "to scatter"

सुँबह हो रही थी - - - हल्की-सी धुन्ध में होटल के गेट का
प्रकाश छिटक आया था ( वे दिन, २२० )

छिटक जा - "to spread"

चलिये, अब रोहिनी नदी के तल पर उतरा जाए, चांदनी अब
अच्छी तरह छिटक गई है ( स० स०, १३४ )

गीला हो आ - "to become damp"

सीदी मौला की आखें कुछ गीली हो आईं

( चारु, ४२० )

गीला हो जा - "to become wet"

घास पर चलने से वे गीले हो गए थे और उन पर बजरी के दो-चार लाल दाने चिपक रह गए थे

( जलती झाड़ी, १४ )

दौड़ आ -

कल सुबह उठकर उनके होटल जाना होगा, इस विचार से ही मेरी देह में झुरझुरी-सी दौड़ आई

( वे दिन, ३० )

दौड़ जा -

रह - रहकर उनके अंग में रोमांच की धारा नीचे से ऊपर तक दौड़ जाती थी

( चारु, ७१ )

The above pairs of sentences indicating the contrast between जा - and आ along the dimension presence of lack of intensity vs. absence of lack of intensity may be compared with the following pair.

झलक आ -

- - - और अन्त में तो क्षोभ हमारे चेहरे पर झलक आया

( ठेले, ५ )

झलकना - " "to flash"

- - - और अन्त में क्षोभ हमारे चेहरे पर झलक गया

झाड़ जा besides indicating the presence of the lack of intensity, has an element of duration which is absent in the sentence containing

In some sentences, आ - and जा - can be regarded as indicating "about to" vs. its absence.

समाप्त हो आ - "to be about over"
मैं यह अनुभव कर रहा हूं कि मेरे दिन अब समाप्त हो आए हैं ( चारू, १३१ )

समाप्त हो जा - "to come to an end"
उसकी स्वतन्त्र इच्छा समाप्त हो जाती है ( चारू, ३४१ )

8.2.2. As we have pointed out earlier, there are quite a few verbs which occur with आ - or with जा - either on the basis of compatibility or in terms of the possibilities of occurrence and non-occurrence. Since जा - is compatible with many more verbs than आ - first we shall illustrate a few sentences with जा - and then with आ - .

(a) The presence of जा - indicates intensity and duration. The same sentences without जा - is ambiguous.

चेलम्मा की अनुपस्थिति माधवी को कभी कभी बहुत खल जाती थी ( सुहाग, १३३ )

खल जा -
खल -

(b) The presence of जा - indicates duration only.

उसकी आखें बार - बार झिपती थीं और खुल जाती थीं
( वे दिन, २१६ )

| | |
|---|---|
| खुल जा - | "to open up" |
| खुल - | "to open" |

(c) The verb in the following sentence with the occurrence of जा can have more than one semantic interpretation.

पर आगे क्या किया जाय, इसकी चर्चा खूब जोरों से चल गयी
( आत्मदाह, २६२ )

| | |
|---|---|
| चल जा - | "to go on, to start" |
| चल - | "to start, to go on" |

The above sentence may be contrasted with the following:

मैं तुम्हें पक्की बात कहता हूं कि मेरी वकालत अच्छी चल जायगी
( त्याग पत्र, १०१ )

Without the explicator जा -, the sentence would be ambiguous as to whether the subject noun is already engaged in the practice of law and is talking about "gradual improvement" or, if he is not a lawyer as yet but when he will be one, his law practice will make a good start.

(d) Presence or absence of जा - can make considerable difference in the semantic interpretation of sentences.

कदाचित् चुपके - चुपके यह देखने आई थी कि उसका रोगी अभी सो रहा है या जग गया है

( चारू, ३१५ )

| | |
|---|---|
| जग जा - | "to wake up from sleep" |
| जग - | "to be awake |

अंगीठी में लकड़ियों का प्रकाश दीवार पर जगमगा जाता था

( वे दिन, २८४ )

| | |
|---|---|
| जगमगा जा - | "to be repeatedly flashing" |
| जगमगा - | "to be shining continuously" |

ज्वलन्त शिखा की भांति रानी कभी - कभी आगे अवश्य लपक जाती

( चारू, २६६ )

| | |
|---|---|
| लपक जा - | "to lean forward" |
| लपक | "to rush forth" |

सूनी - सी दोपहर को परदे के रिंग धीमे - धीमें खनखना जाते हैं - - -

( जलती झाड़ी, ६५ )

| | |
|---|---|
| खनखना जा - | "to jingle" |
| खनखना - | "to clink" |

(e) जा - also indicates a passive effect.

खोजा - "to be lost"

—पर उनकी छोटी - सी सेना इस विशाल मैदान में खो जायगी

( चारू, ३६१ )

जड़ जा - "to be firmly fixed"

नगे नाखुनों वाली बीच की दो उंगलिया मुस्कराहट से खुले होठों पर झरोखे सी जड़ गईं

( बूंद, २ )

कस जा - "to have been tightened"

कचनार को लगा जैसे उसके पैरों में लोहे की बेड़ियां पड़ गईं हों और कमरे में सांकल कस गईं हो

( कचनार, ३२२ )

(f) Finally observe the folllowing sentences which would be more or less hard to understand without the explicator. जा -

शत्रुओं के पांव उखड़ गये

धीरेन्द्र मुस्करा रहा था, यद्यपि उसका चेहरा उतर गया था

( राह, २५ )

और इस निश्चय के साथ ही उसकी आंखों से लोक - लाज की लोई उतर गईं

( सुहाग, १४५ )

अपने चाचा प्रभाशंकर से स्वार्थवश विरोध करने में ज्ञानशंकर पाठकों की निगाह में गिर जाते हैं

( नं० दु०, ५६ )

आड़ बनाकर सागर सेना अपनी तोपों को किले के फाटक के सामने ले आई, परन्तु टौरियों और बुर्जों की ओटों के कारण वह प्रयत्न भी गिर गया

( कचनार, ६२१ )

मदोन्मत्त कोवलन इस प्रकार चढ़ते - चढ़ते एक दिन माधवी के हत्थे चढ़ ही गया

( सुहाग, १६६ )

उनके नील कपोल पर स्मित की वक्ररेखा इस प्रकार छा गई मानों घन - मसृण मेघमाला पर बिजली की रेखा कौंध गई हो

( चारू, ३७० )

नगर वासी की आंखों में यहां की बेतरतीबी खटक जाती थी

( चारू, २६८ )

वे हंसे भी, पर मुझे लगा कि वह बर्फ कहीं उनके मन को खरोंच गई है

( ठेले, ४१ )

यह हठ मुझे खा गया ( सुहाग, ४३ )

पियानो के सुर बहुत ऊपर जाकर फुलझड़ियों की तरह खुल जाते हैं

( वे दिन, १७४ )

उसके होंठ एक झुट पुटी - सी मुसकराहट में खुल गए थे -

( वे दिन, ४६ )

माधवी चतुराई खेलगई, आंखों में आंसू भरकर बोली, तुम्हारी आत्मा को कष्ट पहुंचा कर मैं स्वर्ग भी नहीं जाना चाहती

( सुहाग, १८० )

उनके चेहरे पर सहज स्मिति का भाव खेल गया

( चारू, ६२ )

कुछ चीजें हैं, जो खो जाती हैं, खो जाने में ही उनका अर्थ है, उन्हें भुलाना नहीं होता

( जलती झाड़ी, १५ )

8.2.3. The explicator आ - does not occur with as many verbs and in as many environments as does जा - . Already we have pointed out that it is being gradually introduced in the environments where it could possibly occur within the limitations of sentence structure of MSH. A few sentences are given below to illustrate the environments where the absence of आ - would create ambiguities along the dimensions "indication of the process of the event vs. its absence". For instance, in the following sentence it would be hard to determine

> केवल उनकी उंगलियों की छाप तस्वीर के पुराने जर्द शीशे पर उभर आती है
>
> ( जलती झाड़ी, ४१ )

whether "the coming up, emerging of the imprint of figures" was already there on the glass or not, if the explicator आ - were dropped in the sentence.

A few more sentences are given below with आ - .

> ऐसा लग रहा था जैसे कहीं से अपार कज्जल - समुद्र उमड़ आया है और सम्पूर्ण पर्वत भूमि को ग्रास कर गया है
>
> ( चारू, ३६४ )

## 8.3. ले -: दे -

8.3.1. The opposition between ले - and दे - has the same function with transitive verbs as आ - and जा - have with intransitive verbs. Observe the contrast between

उठा ले "to pick up" etc. and उठा दे "to raise"

in the following sentences.

"to pick up"

मैं पलंग से उठा और पैताने से अपने कपड़े उठा लिये
( वे दिन, २०६ )

उसने उस सुन्दर मृगपोत को गोद में उठा लिया
( चारू, २६ )

फिर बोधा ने मैना के आहत शरीर को उठा लिया - -
( चारू, ४३६ )

टिकट खरीदते समय में प्रोग्राम का काग़ज उठा लिया
( वे दिन, १७४ )

"to lift"

युवती ने तलवार उठा तो ली, पर चलाने का उसे
अभ्यास नहीं था
( चारू, ३७५ )

"to raise" उन्होंने खिड़कियों के परदे उठा दिए थे

( वे दिन, २३७ )

मैंने उसका मुंह उठा दिया

( वे दिन, १६० )

फिर अपनी आंखें मुझ पर उठा दीं - - -

( वे दिन, १२४ )

उसने अपनी स्कर्ट घुटनों से भी ऊपर उठा दी - मैं मैं डोना से भी ज्यादा खूबसूरत हूं

( जलती झाड़ी, ७६७ )

उसने झटके से विली की ठुड्डी को ऊपर उठा दिया

( जलती झाड़ी, १३४ )

The lexical difference between "to pick up" and "to raise" in English is simply expressed in the above-noted sentences with the use of ले - and दे with the verb उठा - . Both ले - and दे - indicate movement in the opposite directions. More examples illustrating the movement in opposite directions indicated ले - दे by are given below.

निकाल ले - "to take out"

उसने अपना हाथ कोट की जेब से बाहर निकाल लिया

( वे दिन, ८८ )

निकाल ले - "to be able to spend (time)"

मुझे किसी की घर-गिरस्ती से मतलब नहीं, सेवा - पूजा में तीन साढ़े तीन घंटे का बखत निकाल लेती हूं

( बूंद, ५ )

निकाल ले - "to find out"

जीवन के लिये किसी जंगल में मार्ग निकाल लूंगा

( बूंद, ३७१ )

निकाल ले - "to extract"

लाले दलाल ससुरे से इसकी दूनी रकम निकाल लूंगा

( बूंद, २७ )

निकाल ले - "to take something off"

फिर उसने सिर और गले से मालायें धीरे से निकाल लीं

( कचनार, २५५ )

निकाल दे - "to force someone out"

जब सुहागी को भैरवी घर से निकाल देता है - - -

( नहु, ८२ )

निकाल दे - "to remove"

आपने बिस्तर की एक - एक सलवट इस तरह निकाल दी है - -

( अनदेखे, ४४ )

Presence of lack of intensity vs. its absence can be observed in numerous environments where ले - and दे - contrast with each other. This opposition is manifest in situations where a verb refers to an involuntary event vs. an event which is necessitated by the circumstances.

झुका ले - "to bend down"

इतना कह कर विद्याधर ने एक नि:श्वास ढालकर शीश झुका लिया

( सुहाग, १८२ )

झुका दे - "to bow down"

देश की संस्कृति कहती है कि हर एक मजहब वाले की इज्जत करो, उसके देवी - देवता के सामने तुम भी सर झुका दो

( स० स०, १४२ )

टेक ले - "to lean on"

उसके अचानक माँ छोड़ देने से मिनी गिरते गिरते संभली, हाथ से दीवार टेक ली

( अनदेखे, ५५ )

टेक दे - "to rest"

महन्त के आने पर कचनार ने चेहरा नहीं ढंका । हाथ जोड़ कर नमस्कार किया और उसके पैरों के पास माथा टेक दिया

( कचनार, १७६ )

दबा ले - "to conceal, hug"

फिर माता जी ने जल्दी जल्दी उस बालिका को गोद में दबा लिया

( चारू, २८० )

दबा ले - "to hide away"

- - - मन के हर आरोह - अवरोह को और भावना के हर आवेग को फूलों की पर्तों में दबा दूं

( ठेले, ४१ )

दबा ले - "to restrain"

कचनार ने अपने क्षोभ और अभिमान को दबा लिया

( कचनार, २३५ )

दबा दे - "to press"

मैंने अपने होंठ उसके मुंह पर दबा दिए

( वे दिन, २०७ )

In the environments where the contrasts between movements in the opposite direction is not explicit, it may be superimposed by the movement of the subject noun. Observe the following sentences

रोक ले - "to prevent"

मैं कहने जाने को उद्यत होता था और वे अपनी कसम दिलाकर मुझे रोक लेती थीं

( त्याग पत्र

रोक दे - "to stop"

माना बहन ने तुरन्त ही हाथ उठाकर उसे रोक दिया

( सुहाग, २०४ )

The movement towards or away from may be reduced to just a sort of psychological dimension.

रख ले - "to keep"

उसने सूटकेस बन्द करके एक कोने में रख लिया

रख दिया - "to put away"

उसने सूटकेस बन्द करके एक कोने में रख दिया

( वे दिन, २२३ )

The concept of movement towards or away from is closely connected with traditional grammarians' notion of "indirect object". The explicator दे - occurs obligatorily when a verb which is normally not a "direction-oriented verb has a beneficiary marked by the postposition को

राम ने मोहन को पत्र लिख दिया

"Ram wrote a letter for Mohan"

The above sentence contrasts with

राम ने मोहन को पत्र लिखा

लिख दिया

"Ram has (already) written a letter for Mohan'

Also see the section on the object constituent for more discussion about this problem.

8.3.2. Some verbs prefer दे - over ले - in a great majority of contexts. A few sentences containing the verbs छोड़ and खो - illustrate such verbs.

to leave (tr.)

—अच्छा - - - लेकिन इसे नहीं छोड़ देना होगा - उसने अंगूठे से उसकी स्टीयरिंग-व्हील की ओर इशारा किया ( काली आंधी, १७० )

To offer, to leave, to let something remain

इसी बीच अशोक चल्ल ने सेनापति और कोषाध्यक्ष के नाम
आदेश पत्र लिख दिया और देवी के चरणों में भक्ति भाव से छोड़ दिया
( चारु, ३६६ )

to leave, to get out of, to quit

छोड़ दे इस पाप नगरी को
( चारु, २७८)

to shoot

क्षणभर के लिये ऐसा लगा कि मदन देवता ने अपने युग-युग से
ललित पुष्पों के बाण को छोड़ दिया है ( चारु, ४१३ )

to give up

लोगों ने शराब पीना छोड़ दिया
( नहु, १०६ )

8.3.3. Quite a few verbs occur only with ले –; a few examples of such verbs are given below.

जो कुछ भी पका, फल खाने लायक दीख जाता था, खा लेता था
( चारु, १३ )

बता भाई मैनासिंह, उसका रक्त नहीं चूस लिया तो बघेला नहीं
( चारु, १६८ )

– – – जैसे उन चीजों ने अनजाने में ही उसे मुझ से छीन लिया हो
( वे दिन, २२२ )

– – – फिर गुफाओं या माँदों से खामोशी को झपट लेना है
( कचनार, २८१ )

- - - पर चारों ओर की वाह - वाह से विवश हो वह माधवी की ओर ताक ही लेता था - - -

( सुहाग, ८५ )

भय ने रात - भर के सारे मानसिक ऊहापोह, सारे संकल्प निगल लिए

( सुहाग, २४८ )

नारी हृदय जिस बात को थोड़ी सी आयु में ही पहिचान लेता है उसको इतनी उमर पाने पर भी महन्त मे न जान पाय - - -

( कचनार, १८१ )

इस देश में वोत् - धर्म के अनुयायिओं ने इस मर्म को पा लिया

( चारु, ६८१ )

8.3.4. The explicator ले - also has abilitative meaning in some tenses, e.g.:

> आर्य, कबूतर भी उड़ लेते हैं, अजगर भी वर्षों धरती के नीचे सो लेते, जल - कुक्कुट भी पानी के ऊपर चल लेते हैं
>
> ( चारू, १५७ )
>
> मैं, महाराज, सात हाथ के बांसों के सहारे दौड़ लेता हूं
>
> ( चारू,३२९ )

8.3.4. Both ले - and दे - also act as transitivizers for some verbs which could otherwise be intransitive.

> पति ने दृष्टि कतरा ली
>
> ( सुहाग, २२१ )
>
> फिर गुलाइयों या गाँठों से धामोनी को झपट लेना है
>
> ( कचनार, २८१ )

8.4. सक -: पा -

8.4.1. It's commonly believed that the explicators सक -: पा - can occur with almost any verb in the language. According to some grammarians this is more true of सक - than of पा - . Below we list a few sentences with both सक - and पा - where these two cannot be substituted for each other.

ज़रा भी असावधानी से कपड़ों में आग लग सकती थी
( चारु, ५४१ )

परन्तु हाट नहीं लग पाई थी कि पानी बरस उठा
( कचनार, १५८ )

क्यो कावेरी पट्टणम् की नृत्य - बालाएं अब इतनी सुकुमार
हो गई हैं कि एक बार नृत्य करके ही थक जाएं, वे अपने मान्य
निर्णायकों को पुन निर्णय देने का अवसर भी न दे पायें ।
( सुहाग, २६ )

शत्रु पक्ष का कोई व्यक्ति अगर सुन सका हो तो यहां संकट
आ सकता है
( चारु, ४३१ )

महेन्द्र कुमार और भरत सिंह के चरित्र जितने हैं, पार्श्ववर्ती
पात्र की भूमिका में ही आ पाए हैं
( नदु, ७९ )

कुछ देर तक वे उसे देखते रहे, मानो किसी बहुत पुरानी चीज
को पहचान पाने की चेष्टा कर रहे हों - - -
( कली झाड़ी, ६९ )

बड़ी कठिनाई से मैं रानी को इसके लिये तैयार कर पाया
( चारु, १०९ )

मै इन सबों से अधिक तीखी गालियां दे सकता हूं

( स० स०, १५७ )

वैसे मैं हिन्दु और हिन्दुस्तानी में कोई भेद नहीं देख पाता, और मैं अपने लिए हिन्दुस्तानी शव्द की अपेक्षा हिन्दु शव्द का प्रयोग करना अधिक उचित समझूंगा

( स० स०, १४१ )

मेरी उम्र ज्यादा नहीं है, मैं चाहूं तो निकल सकता हूं

( जलती झाड़ी, ६० )

मैं पूरी शक्ति से चीखने की चेष्टा करता हूं, किन्तु सिवाय एक भय वह घुर्र - घुर्र के मेरे मुंह से कोई भी स्वर नहीं निकल पाता

( जलती झाड़ी, १३३ )

उनके परिहास के प्रत्युत्तर से उन्हें कष्ट पहुंच सकता था

( चारू, १०३ )

लेखक घटनाओं और पात्रों को भली भांति संभाल नहीं पाता

( नदु

टी० टी० पिक्चर गया है - - - मारिफ सो रही है - - - वह बियर नहीं संभाल सकती

( वे दिन, ६१ )

8.4.2. In the above noted sentences we have tried to point out two important factors about the occurrence non-occurrence of सक -: पा - Firstly, it is wrong to assume that only सक - and पा - are abilitative explicators in MSH. We have given examples in the previous section to illustrate the abilitative meaning of ले - Compare the following sentences with निकल जा -, निकल सक, समझ सक and समझ ले - The order in which these sentences with निकल - as well as समझ - are listed below

राम वहां से बचकर निकल तो जाता है

राम वहां से बचकर निकल तो सकता है

राम सब कुछ समझ सकता है

राम सब कुछ समझ लेता है

is significant for understanding the semantic distinction between the two occurrences of सक in निकल सक - and समझ सक - निकल - is a first order direction oriented verb and समझ is a first order inherent ability verb. The subject noun's ability to come out expressed by निकल सक -implies an experience which he already possesses. On the other hand समझ सक - does not imply any such experience but समझ ले - does.

There is a similarity between the explicative function of सक with निकल - on the one hand, and of ले and समझ - on the other. Also the explicative function of आ - with निकल is at par with the explicative function of सक - with समझ The term abilitative as applied to सक and पा - if contrasted with the term completive as applied to आ - and जा - refers only to the environments implied by the verbs निकल - and समझ - In the former environment ability is subsidiary to completion, in the latter it is primary to completion. The rules for compounding of verbs can only be formulated if these explicative hierarchies are properly understood.

8.4.3. The second aim we had in listing examples of the occurrence: non-occurrence of सक -: पा - was to suggest that the restrictions on the occurrence : non-occurrence of these two explicators are remarkably similar to आ -: जा - or any other pair from the grammatical point of view. The following discussion and illustration of the contrasts between सक - and पा - though formulated in semantic terms imply this assumption throughout.

8.4.4. The opposition between movement towards vs. movement away from can be compared with some occurrences of सक -: पा - which indicate "the subject noun makes no effort to perform the activity vs. the subject noun does make effort but cannot perform the activity (for reasons beyond his control).

बटोर सक -

फिर भी मैं आग जलाने की हिम्मत नहीं बटोर सका

( वे दिन, १० )

"I did not have energy to light the fire

(I made no effort to light the fire)."

बटोर पा

वे यह न चाहते थे कि कमला नन्द दूसरा विवाह करें परन्तु वे इस बात की चर्चा करने का साहस न बटोर पाते थे

"He did not like the idea that Kamalanand should remarry, but he (inspite of making an effort to do so) could not get the courage to tell him."

समझ सक -

बहुत दिनों तक वह समझ नहीं सका कि नील कमल उससे इतना संकोच क्यों करती है

( टूटा-टी-सेट, १ )

"For many days he did not understand..."

अच्छा, तो तुम चेक समझ सकते हो । एक गुर्राती आवाज सुनाई दी

( वे दिन, १४ )

"So, you do understand Czech"

समझ पा -

क्या बताऊ मैना मैं उस समय बहुत छोटा था । सव बाते समझ में नहीं आती थीं । आज भी कितनी वातों को समझ पाता हूं

( चारू, २७८ )

जव तक प्रजा निश्चित् रूप से नहीं समझ पाती तब तक जव कभी

जो कोई चाहेगा उसे परास्त कर देगा

( चारू, ६६ )

"Until the time the people are not able to understand thoroughly..."

जान सक -

हम लोग पूरी सावधानी से वात का प्रयत्न करते थे कि कोई जान न सके कि घोड़ा ले जाने वाले हमारे ही साथी हैं

( चारू, ८१ )

"...anyone should not find out that..."

जान पा -

मनुष्य पदार्थ के जाल में फंस कर वास्तविक सच्चाई को नहीं जान पाता

( चारू, २५ )

"Man...cannot find out the real truth"

In the case of verbs which are not first order सक -: पा - verbs, the semantic distinction between these two explicators as explained above (with the first order सक -: पा - verbs) is reversed. As it is illustrated in the following sentences, सक - indicates an effort on the part of the performer of the action whereas पा - is non-committal.

पहुंच सक -

वाधा वड़ी कठिनाई से विद्याधर मन्त्री को समाचार दे सके हैं और प्राणों पर खेल कर शत्रु सेना के वीच से यहां पहुंच सके हैं

( चारू, २१२ )

"Bodha...could make his way up to here amidst the enemy forces at the risk of his life"

रोहिनी की घाटी को हम लोग पार कर आए, अभी करीब छः मील और चलना है, डेढ़ घण्टें से ऊपर लग जायगा घर पहुंचने में, नौ बजे तक हम लोग पहुंचे पायेंगे

( स० रा०, २५८ )

"...(I think) we will make it by nine o'clock"

लौट सक -

- - - वे सब क्या कभी उसके एकाकी अन्त का भार कम करने लौट सके ?

( महादेवी, ६६ )

लौट पा -

वैसे ही जैसे हम गलती से किसी अपरिचित घर का दरवाजा खटखटा लें और इससे पेश्तर कि हम लौट पाए कोई हमारा हाथ खींच कर हमें भीतर घसीट ले

( जलती झाड़ी, ६० )

In the above sentences पहुंच पायेंगे and लौट पाएं can be substituted by पहुंचेंगे and लौटें respectively, and पहुंच सके हैं and लौट सके by पहुंच पाये हैं or पहुंचे है, and लौट पाये or लौटे respectively. If such a substitution is performed the resulting ambiguities पहुंच सक -: पहुंच पा -: पहुंच will be ambiguous along the dimension "to be able to make": "to arrive" whereas लौट सक -: लौट पा -: लौट along the dimension "to turn back": "to come back". These ambiguities reveal the hierarchic order of the relationship between

सक -: पा - and आ -: जा

8.4.5. Presence vs. absence of lack of intensity can be observed in the following pairs of sentences.

सुन सक -

जहां पर इतवार को प्राग के गिरजों की घंटियां तिरती आती हैं - - - तुम सोते हुये भी उन्हें सुन सकते हो

( वे दिन, ६८ )

"...you can even hear them while asleep"

सुन पा -

मुझे हमेशा यह आवाज अचानक अकेले में फकड़ लेती थी या शायद जब मैं अकेला होता था, तभी उसे सुन पाता था

( वे दिन, ५५ )

"...or perhaps when I happened to be alone, only then I could possibly hear it".

भूल सक -

मैं प्रवल प्रतापी परमर्दिदेव और महापराक्रमी जयित्रचन्द्र के रक्त की महिमा भूल नहीं सकता हूं

( चारु, ६३ )

"I can never forget..."

भूल पा -

न उन्हें फेंक सकता हूं, न भूल पाता हूं

( जलती झाड़ी, २१ )

"Neither can I throw them away nor is it possible for me to forget them"

8.4.6. पा - normally implies a longer span of an activity than सक - in the environment of some verbs.

सुलझा सक -

पाप क्या है, और उसका निवास कहां है, यह एक वड़ी समस्या है, जिसको आज तक नहीं सुलझा सका हूं

( चित्रलेखा, ५ )

"I have not at all been able to solve this problem"

सुलझा पा -

रानी के केशों की लटें वुरी उलझी हुई थीं मैना की निपुण उंगलियां देर तक प्रयत्न करके भी उन्हें सुलझा नहीं पाईं थीं

( चारू, १९९ )

"...Mama's dextrous fingers...could not undo all the knots in the queen's hair"

देख सका -

चन्द्रलेखा उस उद्दाम नृत्य को देर तक देख नहीं सकी

( चारू, ११६ )

"Chandralekha could not stand that wild dancing for long"

देख पा -

परन्तु प्रयत्न करके भी मैं उनमें विक्षेप का कोई लक्षण नहीं देख पाया

( चारू, ११७ )

"Even though I tried (hard) I could not see (find) in her any symptom of mental illness"

कर सक -

- - - परन्तु मिसेज़ जान सेवक कभी भी सोफिया को क्षमा नहीं कर सकती

"...But Mrs. John Sevak can never forgive Sophia"

- - - परन्तु मिसेज़ जान सेवक जन्मभर सोफिया को क्षमा नहीं कर पाती

"But Mrs. John Sevak isn't able to forgive Sophia all her life"

Observe the semantic distinctions introduced by सक - and पा - in the following sentences.

चल सक -

इतना कम करने पर भी छै महीने से अधिक नहीं चल सकेगा

"Even on cutting down (the expenses) so much (this money) cannot last for more than six months"

चल पा -

इतना कम करने पर भी छै महीने से अधिक नहीं चल पाएगा और फिर इसके बाद

( स० स०, १७१ )

"Even on reducing (the expenses) to such a low level (I don't see how this money) can be made to last for more than six months"

दवा सक -

एक दिन अपना कौतुहल न दवा सका - - -

( कोठे, १९)

"One day I could not restrain my curiosity"

दवा पा -

मैं अपने आश्चर्य को नहीं दवा पाया जब मैंने देखा कि - - -

( जलती झाड़ी, ८६ )

"I could not supress my curiosity..."

पका सक -

इस घर में कोई मांस - मछली पका नहीं सकता था - - -

( राह, १० )

"In this house no one could cook any non-vegetarian dish (i.e., meat and fish) (because it was forbidden)"

इस घर में कोई मांस - मछली पका नहीं पाता था - - -

"In this house no one could cook any non-vegetarian dish (because they didn't know how to)"

## 8.5. रह - चुक

8.5.1. The explicators रह -: चुक as the primary pair of first order durative verbs have a function similar to आ -: जा, ले -, दे - and सक -: पा - here as primary explicators with their respective verb classes. Observe the following sentences.

फैल रह -

- - - माकरोनी और तली हुई मछली की गन्ध कारीडोर के एक सिरे से दूसरे सिरे तक फैल रही थी

फट रह -

मेरे मस्तिष्क की नसें फट रही थीं

( चारु, ६२ )

खुल रह -

लगता था दिन खुल रहा है

( वे दिन, १५२ )

By substituting the explicator रह - by चुक in all the above sentences, and contrasting them with each other, we can obtain the domain of the duration of the activity. The domain of the duration of the activity has two stages, i.e., the explicator रह - indicates an unbroken or an incessant activity which, on being terminated by चुक -, implies the subject noun's remaining in the state of that activity indefinitely. In other words the semantic component of रह -: चुक, as illustrated in the above noted sentences can be rendered by means of English translation as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| फैल रही है | "....is in the process of spreading" |
| फैल चुकी है | "....is spread already" |
| फट रहा था | "....was getting torn" |
| फट चुका था | "....was torn" |
| खुल रहा है | "Is in the process of being opened/opening" |

खुल चुका है        "is opened"

8.5.2. The use of terms "incessant" and "terminative" for the explicators रह - and चुक - simply refers to the two stages of the activity indicated by a verb, but the ability of the verb to represent its subject noun as remaining in the state of the verb even after its activity ceases is a characteristic of the verb itself and not of the explicators. For instances, we can compare the above noted sentences with रह - and चुक - with the following pair of sentences.

यही कारण है कि मैं बार - वार मन-ही-मन दुहरा रहा हूं
- - - ये वर्ष के अन्तिम दिन हैं        चुका हूं

"This is the reason that I am repeating again and again in my mind..."

"This is the reason that I have already repeated again and again in mind..."

The subject of the above sentence after ceasing to perform the activity of repeating does not remain in the state of this activity.

The distinction between durative and non-durative can be further clarified, and so also the primary and secondary uses of रह and चुक by comparing the following sentences with वैठ - and निकल -

वह सारा दिन जमीन पर बैठ रहता है
वह सारा दिन जमीन पर वैठा रहता है
वह सारा दिन जमीन पर वैठता रहता है

* वह कमरे से निकल रहता है

वह कमरे से निकला रहता है

वह कमरे से निकलता रहता है

Also all the non-durative verbs, for instance, are incompatible with all the tenses of the finite verb except the following when followed by the explicator रह -

निकल रहा होता

निकल रहा होगा

निकल रहा हो

निकल रहा था

निकल रहा है

* निकल रहा

8.5.3. Below we list a few sentences showing the variety of semantic contrasts between रह - and चुक -

साध रहा - "to amass"

क्रोध भी आ रहा था, भय भी सता रहा था, पुनः विजय प्राप्त करने का हठ वार-वार अपनी शक्ति साध रहा था

( सुहाग, १८६ )

साध चुक - "to subdue"

वह अपने धैर्य को अन्तिम घड़ियों और दिनों के लिए साध चुका था, रिझ-रिझ कर प्राण निकलें, जो हो, किन्तु कोवलन अव न वदलेगा ।

( सुहाग, २६१ )

सुन रह - "to listen'

मणिमेखला तव तक सोई न थी, खिड़की सामने वैठी अन्धेरे में गरजते समुद्र का स्वर सुन रही थी,

( सुहाग, २४६ )

सुन चुक - "to hear"

चोरी चोरी जितना सुन चुका हूं उतने का भार ही दुर्वह जान पड़ता है

( चारू, २८१ )

चल रह - "to be going on"

यहां धर्म के नाम पर पाखंड चल रहा है, युद्ध के नाम पर टुकड़े छीनने का पांचपन खेला जा रहा है

( चारू, ३०४ )

चल चुक - "to have left"

विद्याधर मन्त्री का दल भी चुपचाप एक ओर से प्रतिरोध करने के उद्देश्य से चल चुका है

( चारू, २१२ )

देख रह - "to be watching"

- - - जैसे किसी निपुण कवि का निवद्ध नाटक अभिनीत होता देख रहा होऊं

( चारू, ४०२ )

देख रह - "to be looking at"

वह अपनी घबराहट को दवाने का प्रयत्न कर रही है, जिसे मैं नहीं देख रहा ।

( जलती झाड़ी, १५ )

देख चुक - "to see"

परन्तु मैं कुछ ऐसी वातें भी देख चुका हूं जो सहज विश्वास के योग्य नहीं लगेंगी ।

( चारू, ६४ )

देख चुक - "to witness"

मैं कान्य कुब्ज का उच्छेद देख चुका हूं

( चारू, ४०७ )

वीत रह - "to pass"

दुविधा में दिन वीत रहे थे

( नदु, ४७ )

वीत चुक - "to elapse"

इस सम्य तक कुछ भी नहीं तो पूर्वाह्न का कोई डेढ़ प्रहर वीत चुका होगा

( दत्तक पुत्री, ११९ )

रह रह - "to reside"

स्वाभिमानिनी सुमन की अन्तिम झांकी हम वहां देखते हैं जव वह शान्ता के साथ उसके घर में रह रही है ।

( नदु, ३४ )

रह रह - "to stay"

देव प्रिया ही रानी कमला के रूप में वहां रह रही थीं ।

( नदु, ९७ )

रह रह - "to be getting along"

निस्सन्देह शोभा वहां दासी होकर रही होगी ।

( चारु, १६८ )

रह चुका - "to have been"

एक पढ़ा - लिखा, सभ्य व्यक्ति जो सरकारी अफसर रह चुका है

( नदु, ३८ )

रह चुका - "to live"

वह साधुओं के बीच रह चुका था ।

( चारु, ४६ )

8.5.4. There seems to be a great deal of misunderstanding among the grammarians of MSH about the status of रह - as an explicator as well as its semantic properties.

At least two interpretations of रह - are currently available-- (a) it is an explicator, and (b) it is an aspect marker, and should be considered a part of the tense system of the language.

According to the second interpretation, the verb रह - is a progressive aspect marker like the perfective or imperfective markers. Such an interpretation रह -

लड़का घर जा रहा है
लड़का घर जाता है
लड़का घर गया है

is based on the assumption that there are tense restrictions on रह when it follows a main verb. We have pointed out these tense restrictions earlier, and at the same time mentioned that such restriction do not apply to रह - in the environment of all the verbs. Grammatical features of the verbs systematically exclude or permit the occurrence of the finite verb tenses after explicators, though at the moment we do not exactly know the extent and scope of these restrictions with all the explicators.

Its designation as progressive explicator (or as an aspect member of the same kind) covers only a part of its semantic characteristics. Let us examine the contrast between बैठ and निकल - in the following sentences.

लड़का वहुत धीरे धीरे कुर्सी पर वैठ रहा है
वैठ चुका है
वैठा है

"The boy is (in the process of sitting down on the chair very slowly"

"The boy has already (terminated / completed the process) sat down on the chair very slowly"

"The boy sat down on the chair very slowly"

लड़का बहुत धीरे धीरे वाहर निकल रहा है
निकल चुका है
निकला है

लड़का वार वार वैठ रहा है
वैठ चुका है
वैठा है

लड़का बार बार निकल रहा है
निकल चुका है
निकला है

लड़का आज बहुत देर तक बैठ रहा है
बैठ चुका है
बैठा है

लड़का आज बहुत देर तक निकल रहा है
निकल चुका है
निकला है

The contrast between the occurrence and non-occurrence of sentences with बैठ - and निकल in the environment of आज बहुत देर तक , we hope clarifies the distinction between durative and non-durative verbs. The term progressive, if we understand it correctly, applies to the explicator रह - when it occurs in the environments shared by both durative and non-durative verbs. Similarly the designation "terminative" for चुक is also inadequate because it has been used in MSH to denote the termination of the activity indicated by a verb, and does not apply to the performer's remaining in the state of the activity after it is terminated.

8.5.5. Below we list a few sentences showing the distinction between the durative and non-durative characteristics of a few verbs.

पड़ रह - (durative)

- - - उसका एक मात्र पुत्र विनय, - - -सोफिया के प्रेमाकर्षण में पड़ रहा है

( न दु, ६९ )

पड़ रह - (non-durative)

वड़ी के दाहिने कान की जड़ाऊ तरकी पर धूप पड़ रही है

( वूंद )

निकाल रह - (durative)

पिछले दिनों जो गलियां वर्फ में दव कर खामोश पड़ी थी अव वे धीरे-धीरे अपना सिर वाहर निकाल रही थीं

( वे दिन, ५४ )

निकाल रह - (non-durative)

उसे अभी विश्वास नहीं हुआ था कि माधवी सचमुच ही उसे निकाल रही है

( सुहाग, २२४ )

फिसल रह - (durative)

वच्चों ने लम्वे वूट पहन रखे थे और एक छोटे-से स्लोप पर फिसल रहे थे

( वे दिन, १८ )

फिसल रह - (non-durative)

अव उस पर चमकीलापन था - अव वारिश नहीं थी - लेकिन पुरानी वूंदे भी अव फिसल रही थीं

( वे दिन, १५५ )

आ चुक - (durative)

उससे हम लोग तंग आ चुके थे

( कोठे, १७ )

आ चुक - (non-durative)

जैसे वरसों वाद उस शहर में आना जहां तुम पहले आ चुके हो

( वे दिन, ११५ )

जा चुक - (durative)

( वह ! - - - सैनिकों के साथ लड़ाई के मैदान में जा चुका था

( चारू, ४६ )

जा चुक - (non-durative)

आरकेस्ट्रा के लोग वहुत वहुत पहले जा चुके थे

( जलती झाड़ी, ७६ )

8.5.6. It necessary at this point to spell out the nature of contrast between चुक - and जा - As the use of terms process, cessive for चुक - and completion, translocative for जा - imply, the difference in the semantic characteristics of these two explicators lies not along the dimension of completion of an activity, but in the distinction between the subject noun's passing into the state of the activity gradually (through having performed or undergone it for a length of time) vs. passing into the state of the activity without any such commitment.

This primary contrastive dimension may be realized in several ways. Below we list a few pairs of sentences illustrating the contrast between चुक - and जा -

समझ चुक -

- - - किन्तु सुमन समाज के आचरणों और व्यवहारों को अच्छी तरह समझ चुकी थी

( न दु, २५ )

समझ जा -

मैं इतना अच्छी तरह समझ गई हूं कि ये तान्त्रिक लोग केवल उतनी ही वात वता सकते हैं जितनी प्रश्न कर्ता के मन में होती है

( चारु, ३६५ )

टूट चुक -

मैंने तो कल ही नन्दा के यहां सुना कि कुलीनता का वन्धन वर्षों पहले ही इस दरवार से टूट चुका

( सुहाग, ११ )

टूट जा -

पर वाद में मेरा संकोच टूट गया

( चारु, १४७ )

शास्त्र वाक्यों का सिलसिला टूट गया

( चारु, ३६० )

जान चुक -

क्या उसके अन्तर्यामी भी मेरी ही तरह कुछ जान चुके थे

( चारु, ४१४ )

जान जा -

मेरे अन्तर्यामी अच्छी तरह जान गए हैं कि फूल की मादकता केवल गन्ध में ही नहीं होती

( चारु, ४१४ )

लोट चुक -

पर तव तक अल्हना कटे रूख की तरह मेरे चरणों पर लोट चुका था

( चारु, २६७ )

लोट जा -

मुझे देखकर वे रोते हुए चरणों पर लोट गए

( चारु, २३१ )

लुट चुक -

वे लोग जो लुट चुके थे, फिर भी बड़े आदमी थे
( बूंद, १ )

लुट जा -

पुराने वंश फूल के हाट में लुट गए
( सुहाग, १७३ )

8.5.7. The opposition between durative; non-durative should be distinguished from the oppostion stative: non-stative. The opposition stative: non-stative is a deeper characteristic of verbs. All verbs are either inherently stative or non-stative, or both stative as well as non-stative, depending upon their grammatical environments. For instance, all onomatopoetic verbs are inherently stative when intransitive or inherently non-stative when they occur as transitive verbs. For instance, compare the following occurrence of the verb जगमगा

सारे नगर में विजलियां जगमगा रही हैं (stative)

लोग सारे नगर को विजलियों से जगमगा रहे हैं (non-stative)

The under-noted intransitive usage of जगमगा -, though on the surface is quite similar to its stative usage, is distinct and should be interpreted as a sentence grammatically related to the transitive usage of this verb.

सारा नगर विजलियों से जगमगा रहा है (non-stative)

The stative verbs are incompatible with the features durative: non-durative, and therefore do not occur with चुक - , Therefore, the two phases of the process indicated by रह - and चुक - should be sharply distinguished from the occurrence of रह alone with stative verbs. These two kinds of occurrences of रह - often create ambiguities. Observe the following sentences. These sentences

आग जल रही है "Fire is burning"
"Fire is being lighted"
मोम वत्ती जल रही है""The candle is burning"

आग जल चुकी है "Fire is lighted already"

मोम वत्ती जल चुकी है "The candle is lighted already"

"The candle is burnt"

illustrate the ambiguous uses of जल रह - in the senses "to be in the process of being lighted" and "to be in the state of burning".

The above ambiguous usage of जल रह - may be contrasted with its non-durative usage in the following sentences.

लकड़ी जल रही है "The wood is burning"

लकड़ी जल चुकी है "The wood is burnt"

8.5.8. A few more sentences are given below to illustrate the occurrence of रह - with stative verbs.

लटक रह -

कपड़ों के रंगीन चित्रित पर्दे लटक रहे थे

( सुहाग, १२७ )

गिर रह -

टेवुल लैम्प का आलोक उसके सफेद माथे पर गिर रहा था

( वे दिन, २११ )

छू रह -

पश्चिम समुद्र में निमज्जमान सूर्य की लाल किरणें तव भी ऊंची गिरी श्रृंखलाओं को छू रही थीं

( चारू, ४२४ )

जी रहा -

ये वोद्ध सदा से इस देश का कोढ़ वने जी रहे हैं

( चारू, ३४४ )

वह रह -

पास ही गंगा जी वह रही थीं

( न दु, २८ )

## 8.6. उठ - : वैठ -

8.6.1. The suddenness indicator implusive and compulsive explicators उठ and वैठ primarily occur with verbs which denote momentary activities. Observe the contrast between दवोच उठ -: दवोच वैठ -: and कह उठ -: कह -: वैठ in the following sentences.

दवोच उठ - "to seize suddenly"

उल्लास के आवेग में वस मंजरिका की भुजाओं को दवोच उठा

( दत्तक पुत्री, ६६ )

दबोच बैठ - "to subdue"

एक प्रकार की निष्क्रियता मुझे दबोच बैठी थी ( चारू, ४०६)

कह उठ -

परन्तु लोग-वाग न जाने क्यो से क्या कह उठें

( कचनार, १११ )

कह वैठ -

जवान पर कोई लगाम नहीं - किसी वाहर वाले के सामने ऐसी - वैसी वात कह वैठे, इसलिये सव वना - वनाया खेल खत्म

( ठेले, १५५ )

8.6.2. By their very nature the two explicators occur with mutually exclusive classes of verbs, the impulsive being compatible with intransitive and the compulsive with transitive verbs with a very few exceptions.

All onomatopoetic verbs occur qu te freely with the impulsive explicator उठ A f w examples are given below.

सकपका उठ -

शायद दर्शन भी सकपका उठा

( अनदेखे, ६५ )

फुफकार उठ -

दांत भींच मुट्ठियां रगड़ते हुए वह नागिन की तरह फुफकार उठी

( सुहाग, ५५ )

गुदगुदा उठ -

- - - तो पुरानी वातें याद आते ही मन को सहसा ऐसा लगा, जैसे सुहाग-रात की वातें दूसरे दिन दोपहर में सखियों की छेड़ से गुदगुदी उठा हों

( सुहाग, ४४ )

झिलमिला उठ -

इंजन की हेडलाइट के घूमते प्रकाश-वृत्त में आस-पास खड़े झाड़-झंखाड़ झिलमिला उठते हैं - - - और फिर वही पहले जैसी घनी, वोझिल चुप्पी चारों ओर फैल जाती है

( जलती झाड़ी, ३० )

तमतमा उठ -

विद्या गर्वोद्धित ब्राह्मण तमतमा उठा

( चारु, ४५ )

उनका चेहरा क्रोध से तमतमा उठा और बोलीं कि तुमसे यह बात किसने कही ?

( चारु, ३२ )

तड़तड़ा उठ -

एकाएक वज्र-निनाद से दिशाएं कांप उठीं और विद्युत्-स्फोट के भयावने पिंगल प्रकाश से दिगन्तराल तड़तड़ा उठे

( चारु, ११८ )

खरखरा उठ -

खरल में खरखराहट हुई और उसे ऐसा मालूम हुआ कि रूखा वायुमण्डल खरखरा उठा है

( चारु, ११६ )

खटखटा उठ -

जब कभी हवा का झोंका आता था, उस सूने मकान के दरवाजे खटखटा उठते थे

( जलती झाड़ी, ३७ )

खड़खड़ा उठ -

हवा अचानक उठी - - - पास की झाड़ियां धीरे से खड़खड़ा उठीं

( वे दिन, १३४ )

8.6.3. The onomatopoetic verbs as verbs denoting momentary action behave with the impulsive explicator in the same manner as other verbs with the incessant explicator रह - Below we list a few sentences showing the contrast between the occurrence of रह - and उठ - with onomatopoetic verbs.

जगमगा रह -

स्क्वायर के ऊपर नेशनल-म्यूज़ियम जगमगा रहा था

( वे दिन, १६७ )

जगमगा उठ -

- - - उसकी धवल-ज्योत्स्ना से समस्त वन भूमि जगमगा उठी थी

( चारु, १७९ )

थरथरा रह -

एक क्षण के लिये मुझे गहरा आश्चर्य होता है - यह क्या मेरी देह है जो इस तरह थरथरा रही है

( जलती झाड़ी, १३४ )

थराथरा उठी -

लेकिन भीतर नहीं गहराई में भय से थरथरा उठी थी

( अनदेखे, ८८ )

फुफकार रह -

बिल्लियां एक दूसरे पर फुफकार रही थीं - - -

( बूंद, १६ )

फुफकार उठ -

रानी क्रुद्ध सर्पिणी की भांति फुफकार उठीं

( चारु, २९५ )

8.6.4. The explicative function of उठ - can be made clear by contrasting it with पड़ - which indicates an abrupt vehement action. Compare the following sentences.

उमड़ पड़ -

उनकी आंखों से करुण्य-धारा उमड़ पड़ी

:( चारु, ११३ )

झलक पड़ -

पान्सा के स्वर में खीझ झलक पड़ी

( सुहाग, ११३ )

झलक उठ -

लेकिन वृद्ध मन्त्री की आंखों में कुछ कुतूहल और परेशानी के भाव झलक उठे

( चारु, २४० )

उमड़ उठ -

छाती पर एक बूंद टपकी, कोवलन के अन्तर का करुणा-सागर उमड़ उठा

( सुहाग, १५४ )

जाग पड़ -

और अनायास ही मंसूर के अन्दर सीमा के प्रति एक वितृष्णा का भाव जाग पड़ा

( स० स०, २१३ )

जाग उठ -

रानी मान कुमारी में मंसूर के प्रति संवेदना जाग उठी थी

( स० स०, २१८ )

निखर पड़ -

कौनसा ऐसा उल्लास भर गया है तुम्हारे अन्दर जो तुम्हारी सुन्दरता इतनी अधिक निखर पड़ी है

( स० स०, १३४ )

निखर उठ -

लेकिन न जाने क्यों नाहर सिंह को ऐसा लग रहा था कि रानी मानकुमारी की सुन्दरता बहुत अधिक निखर उठी है

( स० स०, १३४ )

8.6.5. Finally it may not be out of place to say a few words about the characteristics of the verbs occurring with the explicator उठ-. We have remarked earlier that all verbs which denote momentary actions of various sorts primarily select the explicator

Below we list a few sentences with the verbs which generally occur with the explicator उठ and do not denote momentary action. In the contexts given below they all have the feature momentary action which is almost entirely dependent upon the sentence environments of these verbs.

सोच उठ -

वह इस समय ऐसी बात को सोचना व्यर्थ समझ रहा था, फिर भी वह सोच उठा, इससे तो मैं यदि देवी शिष्य की वादक मण्डली में ही हुआ होता तो कहीं अधिक श्रेयस्कर रहता

( दत्तक पुत्री, २२६ )

फेंक उठ -

-.- - क्रोध में सभी पशु मुंह से झाग फेंक उठते हैं

( दबे पांव, ६ )

सिसक उठ -

एक चिर-परिचित शीतल ज्योति में अपने आपको आलोकित करने के लिए उसके प्राण सिसक उठे

( सुहाग, १५१ )

फाड़ उठ -

अपने ही केश खींचने लगता था और कपड़े फाड़ उठता था

दे उठ -

अपने नेत्र इंगित से वे दूर खड़े दुविधा ग्रस्त युगल को अपनी ओर खींचने का प्रयास करतीं, मुख से पुष्प-जूड़ों अथवा मालाओं का भाव-ताव करतीं, और यदा-कदा प्रेमी युगलों के पुरुष पात्र के किसी परिहास का विहंसती भाव भंगिमाओं से उत्तर भी दे उठतीं

( दत्तक पुत्री, १०१ )

पाल उठ -

जिनके पास कुछ न था वे तीर-कमान और कुल्हाड़ी लेकर

घने जंगल में सघन नालों में जा छिपे और चिड़ियां मार मूर कर अपना पेट पाल उठे

( कचनार, ६१ )

महक उठ -

इसमें निश्चय ही कुछ हवन किया गया था जिसकी चिरामंध गन्ध से सारी गुहा बुरी तरह महक उठी थी

( चारु, २०४ )

मुस्करा उठ -

हम दोनों में अभी बातचीत नहीं हुई थी परन्तु एक दूसरे को देखकर अवश्य मुस्करा उठते थे

( राह, १ )

मसोस उठ -

जैसे कोई करुण रागिणी सुनकर मन मसोस उठता है

( चारु, ३५ )

फल उठ -

इधर आंगन की रात रानी गहगहा कर फल उठी है

( ठेले, ३६ )

पीस उठ -

माधवी क्रोध से दांत पीस उठी, उसकी मुट्ठियां बंध गईं

( सुहाग, ६१ )

देख उठ -

कहते - कहते एकाएक अटक कर रुक पड़ीं और बंधी निगाह से मुझे देख उठीं

( त्याग पत्र, ६२ )

दुख उठ -

- - - तो सारा शरीर पके फोड़े की तरह दुख उठा

( अनदेखे, १३३ )

तड़प उठ -

मार खा कर रोती हुई माधवी इस बात की पीड़ा से तड़प उठी

( सुहाग, ६८ )

चुभ उठ -

उसके बचपन के धुंधले चित्र कलेजे में काटे बनकर चुभ उठते थे

( सुहाग, १८६ )

The compound verbs like सोच उठ -, मुस्करा उठ -, सिसक उठ -, फेंक उठ -, फाड़ उठ etc. would be unthinkable except in the contexts of the environment illustrated in the above-noted sentences. These sentences also point out the manner in which the grammatical potential of compounding of verbs is being put to use in MSH.

8.6.6. Another aspect of the explicative function of उठ can be made clear by contrasting it with the translocative completive explicator जा The semantic contrast between a prolonged activity indicated by जा vs. a momentary activity indicated by उठ - can be seen in the following sentences where the latter generate different verbal concepts expressed in English by different verbs, e.g. जल जा - "to burn" vs. जल उठ - "to light up"; बिगड़ जा - "to be spoiled" बिगड़ उठ - "to be enraged" and फूल जा - "to be inflated" vs. फूल उठ - "to assume airs", etc.

जल उठ - "to light up"

- - - भयंकर प्रल्याग्नि की लपटों से धरित्री की मनोहर मेखला के समान विध्यंगिरि की शृंखला जल उठेगी

( चारु, १३१ )

जल जा - "to burn"

कितनी ही वार ऐसा लगता था कि फावड़ा चलाने वाले मशाल की लपटों से जल जायंगे

( चारु, ५४ )

खिल उठ -

कोठे से दालान की ओर बढ़ती हुई पेरियनायकी ने सुना, प्रसन्नता से उसका मुख-कमल खिल उठा

( सुहाग, ३६ )

खिल जा -

भगवती का मुख विकच पुंडरीक की भांति खिल गया

( चारु, १२१ )

मचल उठ -

माधवी को जब यह पता चला कि बन्द प्रकोष्ठ के तल-गृह में सात पीढ़ियों की गृह-स्वामिन्यों का संचित गृह-कोष रखा है तो उस पर अधिकार पाने के लिये मन-ही-मन मचल उठी

( सुहाग, १९९ )

मचल जा -

इनका मन रखना वड़ा कठिन है - जिसके लिए मचल गए वह वस्तु मिल ही जानी चाहिए

( चारु, १८३ )

उकता उठ -

यदि किसी और मन्दिर के लिये आगे वढ़ गईं तो उकता मत उठना

( कचनार, १७३ )

उकता जा -

मेरी कोशिश है कि वह मुझसे उकता जाए

( त्याग पत्र, ७१ )

विगड़ उठ -

इस पर अक्षोभ्य भैरव एकदम विगड़ उठे

( चारु, ३७१ )

विगड़ जा -

तर माल खाओगे तो विगड़ नहीं जाओगे

( अँधेरे, २० )

वह उठ -

आंखों से अविरल अश्रुधारा वह उठी

( चारु, ३१७ )

वह जा -

उसे अपनी मां की याद आ गई, दो वूंद आंखों की कोरों से वह गईं

( सुहाग, २६५ )

सिहर उठ -

रघु राज सिंह भय से सिहर उठा, पानी उसके घोड़े के पैरों से टकरा रहा था

( स० स०, ३२८ )

सिहर जा -

अम्मा की छाया का एक भाग पैरों पर गिरता है और वे सिहर जाते हैं , जैसे खुद अम्मा अपने हाथों से उन्हें छू रही हों

( जलती झाड़ी, ६० )

फूल उठ -

इतना वड़ा काम किसी और ने किया होता तो घमंड से फूल उठता, पर वह तो और भी संकुचित लगता है

( चारू, ४२० )

फूल जा -

जव हवा चलती है, फेस्टून गुव्वारे की तरह फूल जाते हैं, आकाश झण्डों के वीच सिमट आता है - - - नीले लिफाफे सा

( जलती झाड़ी, ८ )

थिरक उठ -

उसकी हंसी के मारे हवेली थिरक उठेगी

( कचनार, २०३ )

थिरक जा -

रानी के प्रवाल-शोण अधरों पर हल्की स्मित रेखा दिखाई पड़ी, नयन - कोरकों में चंचल विलास-लीला थिरक गई

( चारू, २८२ )

झूम उठ -

श्लोक पढ़ते समय वे अपने आप में ही झूम उठते थे - - -

( चारू, २६ )

झूम जा -

हर वार कहां गई कहते समय वह विली के सिर को

दीवार पर धकेल या - - - हर वार विली की देह एक शरावी
की तरह झूम जाती थी

( जलती झाड़ी, १३४ )

8.6.7 The compulsive explicator बैठ -, occurs not as frequently as its impulsive counterpart उठ -, and indicates an involuntary sudden action which involves misjudgment, ignorance, etc. on the part of the performance. Thus it indicates the speaker's viewpoint or a judgment rather than a sudden or an impetuous act of the performer A few sentences are given below to illustrate a few वैठ compounds.

-- और हो सकता है कि उसे तुम शिशिर से मसली हुई कमलिनी
समझ बैठो

( ज्योति, २८ )

कभी पूछ वैठती क्या किसी मन्त्र-वल से सव को सुखी वनाना
सम्भव नहीं है ?

( चारू, १०६ )

आप अपने जवाव से खुद डाकू वन बैठे

( दवे पावं, १८ )

उसके देखने पर गुसाइयों के संग में सीखा हुआ नियम संयम क्या
सव छोड़ बैठेंगे

( कचनार, ३५७ )

वड़े-वड़े गुरु घंटाल भी, जो जीवन-भर शोषण का व्यापार
करते रहे हैं, अपने पुराने पापों को छोड़ वैठते हैं

( न दु० ६६ )

कोई कोई विद्वान तो यहां तक कह बैठे हैं कि मुद्रा की वुराइयां इतनी अधिक है कि मुद्रा के लाभों का प्रभाव ही समाप्त हो जाता है (

रानी की वात पर चलता चलता एक दिन रानी को खो वैठा

( चारू, ३४० )

पर वह ऐसे प्रत्येक अवसर को खो वैठता है

( न दु, १२६ )

दूसरे दिन नगर के समस्त रसिकजन एक मुख से यही चर्चा कर रहे थे कि माधवी एक दिन कोवलन के पीछे अवश्य ही अपने प्राण गंवा बैठेगी

( सुहाग, १४० )

जमात पर महन्त जी का शासन कठोर था । ज़रा मी अनुशासनहीनता पर वह वैरागी या मंडली के एक्टर पर चंवरी चला वैठते थे

( अपनी खवर, ५३ )

तेंदुआ साधारण तौर पर मनुष्य पर हमला नहीं करता, परन्तु दवे पांव चढ़ मी वैठता है

( दवे पांव, ६३ )

## 8.7. चल - : निकल -

8.7.1. The explicators चल - and निकल - occur with verbs which denote an event as a progression. चल - indicates the progression of the event in a pre-terminative state, and निकल in its post-inceptive state. Observe the contrast between दौड़ चल - and दौड़ निकल - in the following sentences:

दौड़ चल -

पक्षियों का दल आश्रम वृक्षों की ओर दौड़ चला था

( चारु, २५२ )

दौड़ निकल -

रथ सर्र - - - र्र - - - से द्वार मंडप को लांघ, वाटिका पथ को पार कर, मुख्य द्वार में से निकल राजपथ पर सरपट दौड़ निकला

( दत्तक पुत्री, ५ )

The feature progression of the primary verbs of the explicators चल and निकल needs to be distinguished from non-progressinn. The presence of the feature progression means that the activity denoted by the primary verb is understood as a succession of events indicated by this verb either directed towards a goal (pre-terminative) or directed from a point with its goal unspecified (post-inceptive). In this sense the pre-terminative succession can be confused with the incessive process (the explicator रह ) of a state of an event denoted by a verb. Compare, for example, the following sentences. The contrast between वीत चल - and वीत रह - दोपहर वीत चली थी ( वे दिन, १५६ )

"The afternoon was about /coming to end"

जो वचा रह गया था, वह वीत रहा था ( वे दिन, २३१ )

"That which was left was in the process of passing"

on the one hand and between वीत चल - and वीत आ - on the other also makes understanding of the features pre-terminative successinn clear. Compare the following sentences

रात प्राय वीत आई थी ( चारु, २५७ )

"The night had almost come to an end"

with the sentence दोपहर वीत चली थी

The activity explicated by both आ - and जा - terminates on completion. The subject noun remains in the process of the acitvity when the verb occurs with रह -, and such an activity terminates. Thus the subject noun may or may not remain in the state of the verb when the verb is followed by चुक - With both चल -, and निकल -, the activity neither terminates nor is it represented as a process.

8.7.2. More examples are given below to show the contrast between pre-terminative and post-inceptive stages of an activity.

वढ़ चल - "to be fl ing"

नशे में झूमती लड़खड़ाती चैलम्मा दालान की ओर वढ़ चली
( सुहाग, ४६ )

वह निकल · "to be rushing, to be streaming"

वहां भी पानी से त्राण नहीं मिला, पैरों के नीचे वह निकला
( कचनार, ११५ )

वढ़ चल - "to move forward, to move on"

नशे में झूमती लड़खड़ाती चैलम्मा दालान की ओर वढ़ चली
( सुहाग, ४६ )

वढ़ निकल - "to rush forward"

उधर नागरिकों से जूझते सैनिक उच्च कण्ठ स्वर में मगध साम्राज्य का जय जय कार करते हुये आगे वढ़ निकले
( दत्तक पुत्री, २७१ )

8.7.3. The semantic contrast between a gradual or slow event vs. a sudden or abrupt event often indicated by चल and निकल is not a primary dimension indicated by these two explicators. Compare the following two sentences containing बढ़ चल and बढ़ निकल - with the sentences given above.

बढ़ चल -

श्वसुर के डगों से जामाता भी बढ़ चले

( सुहाग, १८४ )

बढ़ निकल -

जन-समुदाय चित्रलिखा-सा मंच की ओर देखता रहा, और दोनों देवी शिष्याएं नदी को पार कर आगे बढ़ निकलीं

( दत्तक पुत्री, ७३ )

In these latter sentences the semantic dimension gradual vs. abrupt is replaced by the implicit indication of the distance, i.e., near vs. farther away.

8.7.4. Below we give examples of verbs which do not occur with निकल -

फट चल - "to be wearing out"

उसके कपड़े फट चले थे, पर नए कपड़ों की व्यवस्था करने करने वाला कोई न था

( न दु०, २४ )

फैल चल - "to be spreading"

बात दूर तक फैल चली थी, पड़ोस की स्त्रियों में पवन पड़ने लगी

( त्याग पत्र, ११५ )

बीत चल - "to be coming to an end"

दोपहर बीत चली थी

( वे दिन, १५६ )

बुझ चल - "to be dying (lit. to be extinguishing)"

जान पड़ा बलहाना बुझ चला है

( चारू, २६६ )

चुक चल - "to be running out"

इधर कुछ वर्षों से, जब से कोवलन को यह लगने लगा है कि उसका धन चुक चला है ----

(सुहाग, १६७ )

सूख चल - "to be drying out"

उधर वह सिलसिला भी सूख चला था

( त्याग पत्र, ६ )

सूख चल - "to be coming to an end"

हवा में उसके आंसू सूख चले थे हालांकि आंखें अब भी गीली थीं

( वे दिन, १२८ )

हार चल - "to be giving up"

- - - कि भाई मैं तो हार चला, तुम्हीं उपाय निकालो

( ठेले, ५७ )

मिट चल - "to be vanishing"

उसके झाग मिट चले थे - - - सिर्फ कुछ सफेद धब्बे गिलास की दीवारों पर जमे रह गए थे

( वे दिन, ५० )

8.7.6. A few instances of the occurrence of the verb निकल -, as in the undernoted sentences, are not to be interpreted as

जिक्र था शिब्बु मियां का कि बेगम साहिबा भी ऊपर आ निकलीं
( थानवी, ६८ )

the occurrences of the explicator निकल -, the verb sequences like आ निकल - etc. are grammatically related निकल आ - and so on, and are described in section on reversed verb sequences.

### 8.8. पड़ - : डाल -

8.8.1. The vehemence explicators पड़ and डाल occur with verbs indicating spontaneous actions. As we have remarked earlier the classes of primary verbs with which the occur are almost mutually exclusive. Therefore the distinction between an abrupt vehement action and a deliberate vehement action can be regarded as two different realizations of the feature vehemence depending upon whether the primary verb is intransitive or transitive.

8.8.2. The mutually exclusive occurrence of पड़ and डाल - with intransitive and transitive verbs requires some explanation about the stems which have both transitive and intransitive counterparts like उतार - : उतर, तोड़ - : टूट - etc. Such verbs have the feature spontaneity in different grammatical environments, and therefore, lexically different stems as far as their compatibility with पड़ - and डाल - is concerned. Observe the following sentences.

उतर पड़ -

बस का अड्डा आया और हम उतर पड़े
( ठेले, १३ )

उतार डाल -

सब कपड़े उतार डाले

( वै दिन, १०० )

टूट पड़ -

मर्माहत किरात उत्तर की ओर से उन पर टूट पड़े

( चारु, ४२३ )

तोड़ डाल -

और फिर भाग्य ने पलटा खाया, नियति के हिलकोरों ने आपको देश-विदेश घुमाया, कष्टों का पहाड़ जैसे आपके सर पर टूट पड़ा

( स० स०, १६४ )

फट पड़ -

कहाँ से यह कंचन काया लेकर विजली-सी फट पड़ी

( सुहाग, १७० )

फाड़ डाल -

उसको चीर-फाड़ भी डाला

( दवे पांव, १२१ )

The above examples clearly demonstrate that the verbs like उतर and उतार- as verbs having the feature spontaneity have nothing in common semantically.

8.8.3. With this clarification of the compatibility of पड़- and डाल with their primary verbs, we can categorize the semantic functions of these two explicators.

The abrupt vehemence indicator पड़- occurs with many more verbs, and such a situation is completely in accord with the observations we have made above.

8.8.4. The -ək counterparts of onomatopoetic verbs, as has been indicated earlier, have a preference for the explicator पड़ over उठ . Observe the following pairs of sentences with the verbs छलक - and झलक

छलक पड़ -

माधवी की बातें छलक पड़ी

( सुहाग, ६६ )

छलक उठ -

इस बार उनमें मद भी छलक उठा था

( सुहाग, ६५ )

The above-noted sentences illustrate the variety of closest possible sentence co-occurrents of -ək verbs when followed by the explicators पड़ and उठ. By the words preference of -ək verbs for पड़ over उठ we meant that छलक पड़ is semantically closer to छलछला उठा- and छलक उठ has the semantic component of both छलक पड़ - and छलछला उठ The implication of this observation for the lexical definition of these verbs as given in MSH dictionaries is that these definitions do not indicate the meanings of the verbs छलक - and छलछला -etc. They refer to छलक पड़ and छलछला उठ

8.8.5. The semantic properites of पड़ - as implied in the label abrupt vehemence can be made clear by contrasting it with जा Below we list a few pairs of sentences to illustrate this contrast

कूद पड़ - "to jump into"

फिर वह एक रस्सा लेकर नदी में कूद पड़ा

( चारु, १३३ )

इसी समय मैंने आश्चर्य के साथ देखा कि रानी कमर कसके तलवार खींचे सैनिकों के झुंड में कूद पड़ी ( चारु, २१५ )

कूद जा - "to jump off"

क्यों न कह दे, झिड़क दे, या दौड़ते रथ से कूद जाए

( सुहाग, २४५ )

The above-noted occurrences of में कूद पड़ : से कूद जा - may be compared with में कूद जा - to obtain the range of varieties of the meaning of the verb कूद -

चट से जहन्नुम में कूद गये

( ठेले, १७६ )

चौंक पड़ -

पान्सा को केन्द्र वनाकर जो व्यापारी-वर्ग अव तक लाभान्वित हो रहा था वह नये प्रतिद्वन्द्वी संगठन से चौंक पड़ा

( सुहाग, १०७ )

चौंक जा -

नितिन ऊंघते हुए चौंक जाते है

( जलती झाड़ी, ५९ )

- - - कुछ देर वाद, तौलिए से मुंह पोंछते हुए जव मैंने घड़ी देखी - - - तो एक दम चौंक गया था

( वे दिन, १२ )

मैं तनिक चौंक - सा गया

( वे दिन, ७० )

छूट पड़ -

बदनभर में पसीना छूट पड़ा

( कचनार, १६६ )

छूट जा -

मैं फिर वहां अकेला छूट गया था - - -

( जलती झाड़ी, ८६ )

और यदि सब लोग रोग, जरा और मृत्यु से छूट जाएं - - -

( चारू, ११४ )

जुट पड़ -

समस्त खलासी कठ-पुतली की भांति अपने-अपने काम में मशीन की तरह जुट पड़े

( आत्मदाह, ३०१ )

जुट जा -

वे सेवा-कार्य में जुट गये

( नदु, ४६ )

झर पड़ -

- - - और आंखों के तारे झर पड़े हों

( कचनार, २८५ )

झर जा -

सर्दियों में सब पेड़ों के पत्ते झर जाते थे - - -

( वे दिन, ५५ )

टूट पड़ -

चेलम्मा बातें बन्द करके भोजन पर टूट-सी पड़ी

( सुहाग, ४७ )

ठीक मौका आने से पहले ही मैं अन्धाधुन्ध टूट पड़ता हूं - - -

हालांकि मैं जानता हूं यह गलत है कि लड़का इस तरह नहीं होता

( जलती झाड़ी, ११७ )

टूट जा -

दुर्भाग्य से आज परमर्दिदेव का बल टूट गया है

( चारू, ८८ )

पर बुआ के सामने मेरी मजबूती सब टूट जाती थी

( त्याग पत्र, ४१ )

ढह पड़ -

कोवलन अब अपने-आपको बांध न सका । बावला-सा चीख कर वह बेसुध माधवी की छाती पर ढह पड़ा

( सुहाग, १४४ )

ढह जा -

- - - उत्तरापथ के एकच्छत्र सम्राट् दल-पंगुर महाराज जयित्र चन्द्र बालू की भीत तरह ढह गये

( चारू, ६६ )

फट पड़ -

अंधेरे में बादलों की गड़गड़ाहट दूर और पास जाती-आती बड़ी भयावह लग रही थी और यह घोर अंधेरे की घुटन और गड़गड़ाहट थोड़ी देर तक सहज खेलती रहने के बाद सहसा अति घोर नाद करके फट पड़ी

( सुहाग, २५४ )

फट जा -

मैंना, चन्द्रलेखा का हृदय अवश्य जड़ पाषाण-पिंडों से बना होगा । वह उसी समय फट क्यों नहीं गया ?

( चारू, १६० )

फूट जा -

और रानी मानकुमारी एकाएक फूट पड़ीं

( स० स०, १५५ )

कचनार के हृदय से दया का स्त्रोत फूट पड़ा

( कचनार, ३०६ )

ताई का क्रोध ज्वाला मुखी सा फूट पड़ा

( बूंद, २१ )

माधवी के पीछे खड़ी हुई चालीस वर्षीय प्रौढ़ा पैरिनायकी के चेहरे पर प्रसन्नता की किरणें फूट पड़ी

( सुहाग, १७ )

फूट जा -

पहले तो पान्सा ने यह प्रयत्न किया कि मानाहहन के साथ राजधानी जाने वाला प्रतिनिधि-वर्ग अपने-आप में ही फूट जाय

( सुहाग, १७४ )

और उनकी नवावी का भांडा चौराहे में न फूट जाय (थानवी, ६ )

8.8.6. Following sentences illustrate a variety of semantic properties of the explicator डाल - These sentences are accompanied by other sentences where the same primary verb occurs with the explicator दे - so that the contrastive semastic values of these two explicators can be properly understood.

मार डाल -

कहीं भी चलिए - - - यह हवा मार डालेगी

( वे दिन, ४६ )

मैं तो हवेली के वाहर पैर नहीं रख सकती, चाहे कोई मार डाले

( कचनार, २६८ )

उसके शब्द गम्भीर स्वर में ध्यान की टकटकी से उमगने लगे, कहने लगा, एक वात तो पाई, स्त्री-जाति का यह गहरा भेदाभेद पुरुष को मार डालता है

( सुहाग, २२० )

मार दे -

हाय, मैंने क्या अपने पैर पर अपने हाथों कुल्हाड़ी मार दी है

( चारू, ११७ )

- - - तथापि मुझे इतना कष्ट हुआ कि मानों सैकड़ों विच्छुओं ने एक ही साथ डंक मार दिया हो

( चारू, ४५ )

लेकिन आदमी इनसे डरता नहीं इनकी या तो वह अपने वश में कर लेता है या इन्हें मार देता है

( स० स०, ५२ )

मसल डाल -

मैंनसिंह कहता था, कुछ परवाह नहीं, हम शत्रुओं को मसल डालेंगे

( चारू, ३२७ )

यदि कहीं कोई त्रुटि या विच्युति हो गई है तो उसे अंकुरावस्था में ही मसल डालना बुद्धिमानी है

( चारू, ३२६ )

मसल दे -

अब शत्रु की विराट् वाहिनी को हम चुटकियों में मसल दें गे

( ठेले, १४१ )

पोंछ डाल-

कलावती ने आंसू पोंछ डाले

( कचनार, १३० )

यह उस क्षण असम्भव-सा लगा कि रामना और मीता टूरिस्ट हो सकते हैं - - - मैंने तौलिये से पसीना पोंछ डाला और कपड़े पहनने लगा

( वे दिन, १४७ )

पोंछ दे -

मैंने यथाशक्ति मृदुभाव से उनके आंसू पोंछ दिए

( चारू, २०१ )

ठण्डी हवा के झोंकों ने तारों के धूमरैपन को पोंछ सा दिया और वे खरैपन के साथ चमचमा उठे

( कचनार, २८५ )

झकझोर डाल -

- - - विधवा की परिस्थिति का चित्र कलावती के विवेक को झकझोर डालता था

( कचनार, १२६ )

झकझोर दे -

परन्तु दो घटी के वार्तालाप ने हम दोनों के चैतन्य को बुरी तरह झकझोर दिया है

( चारू, ६२ )

- - - मानो किसी ने सहसा उसे झकझोर दिया हो

( अनदेखे, १४८ )

जला डाल -

पिछली लड़ाई में जब नाजियों ने बेल्जियम पर कब्ज़ा किया, तो अन्य यहूदी धार्मिक स्थानों के संग इस सिनागोत्र की भि: जला डाला था

( जलती झाड़ी, ५० )

जला दे-

मैं रोटी काट लेती हूं - - - तू जाकर स्टोव जला दे

( वे दिन, ६५ )

उसकी सहायता लेकर उसने गौ-ब्राह्मणों का नाश किया, गांव-के-गांव जला दिए, फिर भी वह समझता है कि वह तप कर रहा है

( चारू, २८८ )

8.8.7. A few more sentences are given below to illustrate a variety of usages of the explicator पड़

वन पड़ -

मैंने कहा, लड़ाई का जमाना है, इस लिये पुलिस तहसील जमींदार सभी की वन पड़ी

( दवे पांव, २-४१ )

फूट पड़ -

और रानी मान कुमारी एकाएक फूट पड़ी

( स० स०, १५५ )

चकित मृग शावक के समान उसकी बड़ी बड़ी आंखों से अविरल अश्रुधारा फुट पड़ी

( चारू, १६७ )

माधवी के पीछे खड़ी हुई चालीस वर्षीये - प्रौढ़ा पेरिनायकी के चेहरे पर प्रसन्नता की किरणों फूट पड़ी

( सुहाग, १७ )

चल पड़ -

- - - पिता असहाय सन्तान को छोड़ कर युद्ध में प्राण देने चल पड़ता है

( म, २६ )

इच्छा शक्ति और क्रिया - शक्ति का द्वन्द्व तेजी से चल पड़ा है

( चारू, ४१२ )

सुना है महाराज, रानी आप से मिलने के लिए चल पड़ी हैं

( चारू, ४२२ )

उवल पड़ -

इस घटना से ज्ञानशंकर का क्रोध उवल पड़ा

( नदु, ५० )

सहसा उनकी पुरानी यात्रा-प्रवृत्ति उवल पड़ी ।

( ठेले, १३४ )

खौल पड़ -

मेरा रक्त खौल पड़ा ।

( चारू, २९७ )

8.8.8. The explicator पड़ - occurs with a few transitive verbs in the environments; these verbs are no longer transitive verbs. The compounds जान पड़ - सुन पड़ - , समझ पड़ - etc. are well-known. Below we give examples of डांट पड़ - and फांद पड़ which, we believe, are innovations in this direction.

डांट पड़ -

चाचा कन्ह तो इतने क्रुद्ध हुए कि वीच ही में डांट पड़े

( म, ५६ )

फांद पड़ -

--- किसी उत्ताल तरंगमाला - समाकुल भीषण
समुद्र के काले-काले जल में फांद पड़ती ---

( लज्जा, ७४ )

8.9. रख - : छोड़ -

8.9.1. The distinction between the explicators रख - and छोड़ - is probably the least establishdd of all in MSH. Quite a few grammarians don't even mention the explicator छोड़ - at all in their descriptions. On the other hand, रख does occur with a few transitive verbs.

8.9.2. The occurrence of रख - compounds in MSH can be best understood if we try to guess the manner in which they are being gradually introduced in the language. In MSH sentences like the following are not considered well-formed though

मैंने उसकी चप्पलें हाथ में फकड़ी हुईं थीं
और भनक भी पड़ी कि एक सीमान्त वासी म्यूज़िक डाइरेक्टर
साहव ने अपनी नवोदिता फ़िल्म स्टार पत्नी भी सेठ जी
को ही सौंपी हुई थी

the sentences such as the following are considered grammatical.

सभी लोग मुझे मरा समझे हुए थे

( मानसरोवर, ४-१६७ )

उसके दोनों हाथ आगे स्कर्ट की ओर मुड़ गए थे --- वह उसे
फकड़े थी ह्वा से रोकने के लिए

( वे दिन, १०५ )

सामने के सोफा पर दो बुजुर्ग व्यक्तियों के बीच में बैठे एक सज्जन ने कहा जो स्वयं बुजुर्ग थे और सफेद खादी की धोती और कुर्ता पहने हुए थे

( राह, १३ )

चांदनी उस सम्य भी दूध के समान श्वेत होकर धरित्री को ढके हुए थी

( बाण, ३१ )

तन्मय होकर दूध पीने की क्रिया और उस क्रिया की सफलता का सन्तोष -- चेहरे की पुलक और आंखों की चमक ही तो उसे आकर्षण के जादू से बांधे थी

( अनजान पुल, ८२ )

In many instances the रख - compounds seem to fill in the gap created by the absence of post-nominal non-finite perfective as illustrated above by पकड़ी हुई थीं and सौंपी हुई थीं In other words, रख - compounds with stative verbs contrast with the post-nominal non-finite perfective of these verbs in the oblique form as illustrated above. So the occurrence of रख - compounds as in the following sentence when contrasted with its post-nominal

मैं ने उसकी चप्पलें हाथ में पकड़ रखी थीं

( जलती झाड़ी, ६ )

oblique perfective indicates what can be termed as contrast between "to keep holding" vs. "to be in the state of holding". The former implies a continued activity either from a point in time onward or up to a point in time, whereas the latter has no implication about up to a point in time because it is understood as a continued state of the subject-noun with or without any implication of from a point in time onward. However, when a specific period of time is implied, the explicator रख - is not used. Such expressions are, however, rendered in the manner of the following sentence by affixing the

मैं एक घण्टे तक उसकी चप्पलें हाथ में फकड़े रहा था

"I had held her chappels in my hand for an hour"

iterative perfective to the primary verb and using the explicator रह - The post-nominal non-finite perfective in this latter situation will be the same as with फकड़ रख -, i.e., the sentence

मैं एक घण्टे तक उसकी चप्पलें हाथ में फकड़े हुए था

8.9.3. Now if we compare the sentence मैंने उसकी चप्पलें हाथ में फकड़ रखी थीं with the following

पान्सा ने कावेरी पट्टणम् से लेकर डरैयूर तक प्रमुख राज्याधिकारियों के हेतु घन और बहुमूल्य उपहारों की दौड़ वाघंरखी थी

( सुहाग, १७७ )

दूसरे, लेह के और दूसरे व्यापारी पहले से रुपया दे रखते हैं

( सज्जन, ७७ )

we will find that the compound verbs like वाघं रख - दे रख - and will sometimes match वाघे हुये थे or दिये हुये थे sometimes not. In other words, the non-stative verbs like वाघं or दे, when they do not become stative, cannot occur as non-finite perfective when the same noun occurs as the subject of the non-finite perfective as well as the finite verb (see the section on non-finite verbs for further description of the non-finite perfective). The occurrence of the explicator रख - with non-stative transitive verbs indicates the happening of the event indicated by the primary verb in a sequence prior to some specified or unspecified point in time. The explicator रख -indicates this latter distinction with both stative and non-stative verbs, whereas the distinction discussed earlier can occur only with the stative verbs.

8.9.4. The explicator छोड़ - occurs so infrequently that most grammarians don't even interpret it as an explicator in MSH. There is absolutely no doubt that its occurrence is gaining currency in the language. A few sentences are given below to illustrate the occurrence of this explicator.

> तुम मुझे पहले वता देते तो मैं सवेरे उठते ही तुम्हारे कमरे को ठीक कर छोड़ती
>
> ( अधेंरे, १७४ )
>
> आँर इसी रटन्त का नाम शिक्षा रख छोड़ा है
>
> ( प्रेम चन्द
>
> वड़ी होशियारी से मैंने यह नाम बन्यत्र सुरक्षित रख छोड़ा है ।
>
> ( बाण-भट्ट
>
> इन्दु - - - चार पांच वीड़े पान के लगा कर पति के लिये रख छोड़ती है ।
>
> ( ए डी ६०४ )
>
> भगवान ने इसके सहस्त्र दल कमल की सुष्मुना नाड़ी से दूर रख छोड़ा है ।
>
> ( कचनार, १८९ )
>
> एक पैकेट में उसके लिए रख छोड़ूगा - मैंने मन-ही-मन वादा किया
>
> ( वे दिन, १६ )

## 9. Explicator Sequences.

9.1. One kind of phase explicator sequence which occurs after simple verb stems, has either आ - and जा - or ले and दे - as primary explicators in them. Both the pairs आ vs जा as well as ले vs दे - may be followed by either रह - or सक - A few examples illustrating such explicator sequences are given below.

वुरी तरह भीग जाने पर भी मानसिंह विजली की कड़क के भप से
वार-वार तिलमिला जा रहा था

( कचनार, ११५ )

तुम्हारी सहायता के विना मैं भटक जा सकती हूँ

( चारू, ३६६ )

वह पेड़ की टहनी पर वैठ कर त्रैलोक्य घूम आ सकता था

( चारू, १६५ )

- - - जैसे इन्द्र भगवान पानी उड़ेल दे रहे थे इस स्थल को
डुवाने के लिये

( स०स०, २७३ )

मैं मृत्यु से नहीं डरती । आप मेरी गर्दन उड़ा दे सकते हैं, परन्तु
मुझे सत्य कहने से मुझे नहीं रोक सकते

( वाण भट्ट, १६८ )

नहीं तो वे छुन्नू को पीट-पाटकर हाल-वेहाल कर डालने का
प्रण उठा ले रही थीं

( त्याग पत्र, ११७ )

9.2. The other type of phase explicator sequences consists of the explicators पा - followed by रह - The explicator sequence पा रह - occurs quite frequently and in sentences with negation. Its occurrence in affirmative sentences is extremely rare.

मैं तुम्हें भी नहीं देख पा रहा हूं

( चारू, ३५७ )

आज स्पष्ट देख पा रहा हूं कि उसकी वढ़ती हुई आत्मीयता को
हम लोग गलत रंग में देखने लगे थे

( कोठे, ४४ )

9.3. The explicator पड़ - can also be [illegible] - followed by रह -

और हम सक्रिय हो उठे - अदम्य शक्ति, उल्लास आनन्द जैसे
हम में झलक पड़ रहा था

( ठेले, ८ )

10.. Compound Verbs with Repeated Stems.

10.1. Repetition of primary verb stems in compound verbs is not very common in MSH. Since no grammar of the language, to the best of our knowledge, has ever mentioned this phenomenon, it may be of recent origin. Observe the contrast between the compound verbs in the following sentences.

मैं जव इस मूर्ति पर ध्यान केन्द्रित करने का प्रयत्न करती हूं
तो वार-वार मेरा मन उचट जाता है

( चारू, २०९ )

महाराज, जीव और माया इत्यादि विषयों पर पहले मुझको
वहुत वतला चुके हैं । परन्तु मन उचट उचट जाता है
( कचनार, २२२ )

Repetition of a verb stem adds an extra dimension to compound verbs. The presence vs. absence of repetition of a verb stem introduces the contrast between intensified vs. non-intensified activity.

10.2. A simple verb stem or a stem with the ending of the non-iterative perfect may be repeated.

10.2.1. The only examples of the occurrence of explicators with repeated simple stems we have been able to find are those of

ले -, दे -, जा -, and उठ -

A few examples are given below.

मैं जिनसे पीछा छुटाना चाहती हूं, वे ही पकड़ - पकड़ लेती हैं
( कचनार, २६० )

उसे नृत्य की भाव-मुद्रा के साथ चेलम्मा द्वारा मांगी गई इस
गुरु दक्षिणा ने माधवी को जकड़ - जकड़ दिया
( सुहाग, ७९ )

कन्नगी गुदगुदी-भरी लाज से खीझ - खीझ जाती थी
( सुहाग, १२३ )

उसके मुंह इधर करते ही कमरे में जैसे करुणा भर भर उठी - - -
( ठेले, ६९ )

10.2.2 The examples of the occurrence of explicators after the repeated stem with the ending of the non-iterative perfective are very few, and the explicator which occurs in all these examples is पड़ -

माधवी आवेश में उछली पड़ती थी

( सुहाग, १६० )

10.3. There are restrictions on the occurrence of the finite verb tenses with repeated stem compounds. These compounds are always +[-perfective], ________, +[± past] or +[-perfective]________, +[-tense].

11. The Compound Verbs with Aspectual Stems.

11.1. The verb stem in compound verbs may be followed by the ending of the iterative perfective, the non-iterative perfective or the imperfective aspects. In this section we shall describe these three kinds of compound verbs.

The common property of these three kinds of compounds is the obligatory occurrence of explicators.

11.2. The compound verbs with the verb stems having the ending of the iterative perfective involve transitive verbs only.

The repetition of a completed activity indicated by the iterative perfective may be contrasted with an incomplete or continued activity denoted by a verb when it has the ending of the imperfective aspect.

रानी अनर्गल धारा प्रवाह/जा रही थीं

( चारू, ११७ )

"The queen kept on **fluently** repeating some kind of nonsense"

वे घारा प्रवाह वोलती जा रही थीं

( चारू, ११७ )

"She kept on speaking fluently"

अव भी आप अपनी ही वात कहे जाते हैं

( थानवी, २७ )

क्षणभर में मैंने अविष्कार किया कि ऊपर - ऊपर से मैं नीलतारा नीलतारा कहता जा रहा हू, पर भीतर रानी और मैना का ध्यान करता आ रहा हूं

( चारू, ३६२ )

Also observe the contrast between the iterative perfective and the non-iterative perfective in the following pair of sentences.

देवी, मुझे वह कर्त्तव्य वताने की आवश्यकता नहीं, पर एक कुशल महावलाधिकृत भी जन-सह्योग के अभाव में निस्सहाय हो जाता है, इस ज्वलंत तथ्य को तुम क्यों भूले जा रही हो

( दत्तक पुत्री, १५६ )

पर शुभे, उससे पहले की एक वात तो तुम भूली ही जा रही हो

( दत्तक पुत्री, १४५ )

11.2.1. The examples we have of the compound verbs with the ending of the iterative perfective aspect with the main verb involve the occurrence of the explicator जा -, ले -, दे -, चल -, रख -, and डाल -, All of them except रख -, may be followed by रह -. रख -, may be followed by सक -

Below we list a few examples of this type of compound verbs.

जिये जा -

फटे चीथड़ों से अपनी नग्नता को ढांके हुए जिये जाते थे

( प्रेम, १२९ )

खपाए जा रह -

अभी ही अपने को क्यों खपाए जा रही है मैना, शक्ति की परीक्षा का दिन अभी नहीं आया

( चारू, ३०८ )

कहे दे -

प्रधान, तीन रेखा खींच कर कहे देती हूं, इस देश को मै निठल्ले ही डुबा देंगे

( चारू, २७३ )

खपाए दे रह -

कन्नगी रात -दिन कोवलन, माधवी और उसकी सन्तान मणिमेखला की सेवा-शुश्रुषा में अपने-आपको खपाए दे रही थी

( सुहाग, १९६ )

छिपाये ले -

उसके अन्त:करण से जैसे आशीवादों का व्यूह-सा निकल कर होरी को अपने अन्दर छिपाये लेता था

( गोदान, ६ )

मथे डाल -

यह परिताप मेरे चित्त को मथे डालता है

( चारु, २०३ )

मथे डाल रहा -

और उस गर्व थ मरी प्रसन्नता के बाद यह ग्लानि, क्षोभ और दु:ख उसे मथे डाल रहा था

( सुहाग, ५६ )

जिए चल -

- - - और इस विषक्त वातावरण में सहज भाव से जिए चलती हूं

( त्याग पत्र, ६८ )

वनाए रख -

वह अनेकवार जीवन से हताश मी हुई हैं, परन्तु प्रेमचन्द जी उसके चरित्र में एक गरिमा आदि से अंत तक वनाये रखते हैं

( नदु, ३५ )

बनाए रख सक -

मराठे पूना के पेशवा की छत्रछाया में ही एक होकर अपनी विस्तृत शक्ति को बनाये रख सकते थे

( कचनार, ८६ )

11.3. Compound verbs having the non-iterative perfective aspect ending with the verb stem, unlike those with the iterative perfective ending, involve intransitive verbs only.

11.3.1. The verb stems with the non-iterative perfective aspect ending permit the explicator आ -, जा -, and पड़ - with or without रह - The following examples illustrate this variety of compound verbs.

बना आ -

तव से शैवों और जैनों में मनो मालिन्य वना आया है

( चारु, ३०२ )

उतरा आ रह -

पर वह छिपकली की भांति चिपकता हुआ उतरा आ रहा है

( चारु, २६४ )

उड़ा जा -

पीली धूप में जल - पक्षियों की कतार सागर के पार उड़ी जाती है

( जलती झाड़ी, ४६ )

उड़ा जा रह -

- - - ओर उसका मन हवाओं में बादलों के संग उड़ा जा रहा है

( ठेले, १७५ )

टपका पड़ -

पतली सुडौल और नुकीली नाक, पतले - पतले होंठ जिनसे मानो रक्त टपका पड़ता हो

( स०स०, ६२ )

टूटा पड़ रह -

नींद के मारे आंखे टूटी पड़ रही थीं

( कचनार, १०१ )

11.4. Both transitive and intransitive verb stems with the imperfective ending permit the the occurrence of the explicators आ -, जा -, चल with or without रह - and रह - which may occur by itself or may be followed by सक - A few examples are given below.

होता आ -

तब से आज तक मानव - जाति उसी प्रबल भौतिक शक्ति के ताड़न से क्षत - विक्षत होती आई है

( लज्जा, १७ )

होता जा -

होरी दिन दरिद्र होता जाता था

( नदु, १३५ )

होता चल -

परन्तु फिर भी विचारों का प्रवाह उग्रतर होता चला

( दत्तक पुत्री, १४२ )

सिमटता आ रह -

पर उनकी सारी सत्ता उत्सुक श्रोता की भांति उन आंखों में सिमटती आ रही थी

( चारु, १६६ )

सिमटता जा रह -

उनके अंग - अंग शिथिल हो आए मानो बाह्या करणों की समूची शक्ति अन्त:करण में सिमटती जा रही हो

( चारु, १४६ )

# Adjectives

## 1. Stratification

1.1. Like nouns the adjectives in MSH also belong to different strata - (a) Sanskrit tatsama, (b) borrowed from Perso-Arabic, and (c) tadbhava. MSH grammars do not discuss the adjectives from the point of view of their lexical stratification as such. However, they do recognize the phenomena in the sections on derivation of nouns from adjectives or adjectives from nouns, etc., because the adjectives or the nouns belonging to these three different strata occur with different sets of suffixes, etc.

1.2. It is well known that the tadbhava adjectives are limited in number. Quite a few are of Perso-Arabic origin, and almost all of them are qualitative adjectives. Sanskrit tatsmas, primarily participial, are borrowed quite freely. Considering the present trends, it can be expected that MSH will continue borrowing more and more adjectives from Sanskrit.

## 2. Traditional Classification of Adjectives.

2.1. Traditional grammars classify all the adjectives on the basis of (a) occurrence in sentences, (b) lexical properties and (c) formation. On the basis of the ability of adjectives to take the gender-number of nouns, they are classified into declineable and indeclineable adjectives.

2.2. Guru points out two kinds of relationships between adjectives and nouns on the basis of their occurrence in sentences.[1]

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[1] Guru, Kāmatā Prasāda, Hīndī Vyākaraṇa, Kāśī

He explains the two kinds of relationships between adjectives and nouns in the following manner:

(a) He uses the term समानाधिकरण विशेषण "conjoined adjective" for adjectives which occur with certain human proper nouns like पतिव्रता सीता, प्रतापी भोज, दयालु ईश्वर. He explains that the occurrence of the adjectives पतिव्रता, प्रतापी दयालु with the nouns सीता, भोज and ईश्वर respectively does not qualify these nouns. In other words, the noun सीता refers to the same person as does the noun पतिव्रता सीता.

The adjectives indicating the ordinary qualities of common nouns, when occurring with the nouns which have these qualities are also समानाधिकरण adjectives of these nouns. His examples are मूक पशु, अबोध बच्चा, काला कौआ, ठंडी बर्फ

He also lables the predicative occurrence of adjectives (as opposed to their substantive occurrence) as समानाधिकरण. For example, the adjective चपल in the sentence वह ब्राह्मण चपल है is a समानाधिकरण adjective.

(b) The occurrence of adjectives in the environments other than the ones mentioned above is called by Guru adjectival in the sense that such adjectives have a qualificatory relationship with their referrent nouns, and this relationship is indicated in the language by putting the adjective directly before the noun.

The implications of the समानाधिकरण vs. व्यधिकरण distinction introducted by Guru for MSH adjectives will be discussed later in this section.

2.3. Adjectives are subdivided on the basis of their lexical properties into three classes, i.e., (a) pronominal, (b) numeral, and (c) qualitative adjectives. This kind of classification, as Guru has pointed out, is lexical and not based on the noun-adjective selections, on the basis of which he sets up adjectival vs. समानाधिकरण relationships.

2.4. There is no need to reproduce this lexical classification of adjectives. We shall rather concentrate on some other properties of adjectives, the properties which we believe are extremely useful for setting up syntactic constraints on the adjective-noun selections of various sorts. We shall discuss these properties in the next section.

## 3. Grammatical Features of Adjectives.

3.1. One way to understand the nature of grammatical features of adjectives is to observe their occurrence with the verbs हो१- हो२, रह - and निकल .[1] Observe the following sentences with the adjectives मौजूद, उपस्थित, होशियार, चालाक, गीला and सूखा

वह लड़का वहाँ पर मौजूद होता है
* वह लड़का वहाँ पर मौजूद हो जाता है
वह लड़का वहाँ पर मौजूद है
वह लड़का वहाँ पर मौजूद रहता है
* वह लड़का वहाँ पर मौजूद रह जाता है

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[1] On the difference between हो१-and हो२ see the section on the verb हो.

वह लड़का वहां पर उपस्थित होता है
वह लड़का वहां पर उपस्थित हो जाता है
वह लड़का वहां पर उपस्थित है
वह लड़का वहां पर उपस्थित रहता है

* वह लड़का काम में होशियार होता है
वह लड़का काम में होशियार हो जाता है
वह लड़का काम में होशियार है
वह लड़का काम में होशियार रहता है
* वह लड़का काम में होशियार रह जाता है
वह लड़का काम में होशियार निकलता है

* वह लड़का काम में चतुर होता है
वह लड़का काम में चतुर हो जाता है
वह लड़का काम में चतुर है
वह लड़का काम में चतुर निकला

उसके कपड़े गीले होते हैं
उसके कपड़े गीले हो जाते हैं
उसके कपड़े गीले हैं
उसके कपड़े गीले रहते हैं
उसके कपड़े गीले रह जाते हैं
उसके कपड़े गीले निकलते है

* उसके कपड़े सूखे होते हैं
* उसके कपड़े सूखे हो जाते हैं

उसके कपड़े सूखे हैं
उसके कपड़े सूखे रहते हैं
उसके कपड़े सूखे रह जाते हैं
उसके कपड़े सूखे निकलते हैं

Now, if we plot the occurrence of these adjectives with the verb कर we find the following possibilities.

* राम ने लड़के को वहां पर मौजूद कर दिया है
राम ने लड़के को वहां पर उपस्थित कर दिया है

राम ने लड़के को काम में होशियार कर दिया है
* राम ने लड़के को काम में सावधान कर दिया है

राम ने लड़के के कपड़े गीले कर दिये

* राम ने लड़के के कपड़े सूखे कर दिये

The variety of contexts showing the distinction involved in the above-noted sentences can be extended to demonstrate that the adjectives like मौजूद, सावधान, and सूखा are +stative, i.e., indicate the state of their referrent nouns, and उपस्थित, होशियार गीला etc. are -stative.

3.2. If we observe the occurrence of qualitative adjectives with बिलकुल "absolutely" and बहुत "very", we will find that the occurrence of बिलकुल and बहुत has a correlation with the ±stative dimension as indicated in the following sentences.

राम अब बिलकुल ठीक है
"Ram is all right now."

राम अब बिलकुल ठीक हो गया है
"Ram has now completely recovered."

*राम अब बहुत ठीक है

राम अब बहुत ठीक हो गया है

"Ram has now improved a great deal."

A few adjectives are listed below showing their occurrence or non-occurrence with बिल्कुल and बहुत .

| बिल्कुल | बहुत | Adjective |
|---|---|---|
| + | - | नया |
| + | + | पुराना |
| + | + | पक्का |
| + | + | कच्चा |
| + | + | खरा |
| + | + | खोटा |
| + | + | सच्चा |
| + | + | झूठा |
| + | + | ठीक |
| + | + | खराब |
| + | - | सूखा |
| + | + | गीला |
| - | + | मीठा |
| + | + | फीका |
| - | + | भारी |
| + | + | हल्का |
| - | + | सख्त |
| + | + | नरम |
| + | + | सावधान |
| - | + | होशियार |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| - | + | चालाक |
| - | + | बुद्धिमान |
| - | + | समझदार |
| + | + | डरपोक |
| - | + | चतुर |
| + | + | मूर्ख |
| + | + | बेवकूफ |
| + | + | गंवार |
| - | + | अमीर |
| + | + | गरीब |
| + | + | बेशर्म |
| - | + | शरमिन्दा |

3.3. Also the adjectives which are + बहुत normally occur in the comparative construction, as in राम से अधिक बुद्धिमान, राम जैसा बुद्धिमान, राम का सा बुद्धिमान, राम की तरह बुद्धिमान etc. On the other hand, the adjectives, which are + बिल्कुल and - बहुत , do not occur in the comparative constructions of the kinds just mentioned.

3.4. The adjectives which are + बिल्कुल , - बहुत , or - बिल्कुल , + बहुत do not occur with ज़रा "a little bit" as in *ज़रा नया "a little bit new" or ज़रा अक्लमन्द "a little bit wise". The ones which are + बिल्कुल , + बहुत are also ज़रा , e.g., ज़रा पुराना "a little old (used)", ज़रा मूर्ख "a sort of foolish (person)" etc.

## 4. Adjectival vs. Determinatory Adjectives.

4.1. In the section on nouns, we indicated that nouns belonging to a semantic area may be classificatory or designatory on the scale of synonymity. Observe the distinction between मर्द and पुरुष आदमी in the following sentences.

> जितने आदमियों से उसका परिचय था, उनमें मेहता का स्थान सबसे ऊंचा था

> वह जितना आपका आदर करती है, शायद और किसी मर्द का नहीं करती

पहले भी तो स्वयंबर से पुरुषों की परीक्षा होती थी

The noun आदमी is a classificatory noun, and its designatory counterparts मर्द and पुरुष differ from each other in respect of being +intimate relationship and +valor. This means that the variety of adjectives which can possibly occur with आदमी would include the kind of adjecitves with which both मर्द and पुरुष are compatible. Also the noun आदमी along with a suitable adjective can occur in the sense various classificatory terms for man which do not exist as lexical items in the language. Observe the following sentences.

खन्ना ठिगने, इकहरे, रूपवान आदमी थे ---- -
यह मेहता भी कुछ अजीब आदमी है

This is precisely the kind of thing which Guru distinguishes as adjectival occurrence of adjectives as opposed to their occurrence as समानाधिकरण adjectives. The only difference between the adjectives and the nouns is that the former have classificatory and designatory terms along two scales known as synonymy and antonymy whereas the latter have a single dimension, i.e., synonymity. This means that the grammar of MSH does not make use of synonyms and antonyms of nouns in the manner it employs the synonyms and antonyms of adjectives.

Furthermore, it is usually the case for all adjectival concepts to occur in one to one relationship as synonyms and antonyms. The presence of an adjective vs. its absence can accomplish this important linguistic function. Observe the following sentences where there is a contrast between बड़ा and its absence.

बड़े आदमियों की बराबरी तुम कैसे कर सकते हो भाई ?

कौन कहता है कि हम तुम आदमी हैं ।

4.2. The manner in which adjectives, by their occurrence with nouns, generate more and more designatory synonyms of nouns should be distinguished from the situations when they donnot. The examples we quoted from Guru of पतिव्रता सीता, दयालु ईश्वर, प्रतापी भोज on one hand and अबोध बच्चा, मूक पशु etc. on the other do not constitute designatory synonyms of

सीता, इश्वर, भोज, बच्चा and पशु respectively. According to Guru these adjectives form the part of these nouns in the sense that the noun पशु "an animal" is inherently मूक "dumb". In other words, adjectives indicating the inherent lexical features of nouns do not generate designatory synonyms of nouns with which they occur. This function of adjectives can be termed determinatory as opposed to adjectival proper.

4.3. Before talking about the determinatory adjectives, it is necessary to explain the basis on which Guru treats the occurrence of the adjectives पतिव्रता, दयालु and प्रतापी as determinatory, and not adjectival with the proper nouns सीता, ईश्वर and भोज The noun phrase पतिव्रता सीता is not the proper noun सीता in the sense it occurs in the following sentences.

सीता पतिव्रता है
वह सीता जो पतिव्रता है

In other words the noun phrase पतिव्रता सीता cannot be generated from the aforesaid sentences. It is to be interpreted as an expansion of the noun सीता itself by means of a rule like NP ------> Det. +n in a suitable manner. Though the noun सीता is the name of a person who is a female, as far as MSH is concerned, its occurrence as a proper noun should be distinguished from its occurrence as a classificatory proper noun. This means that all classificatory proper nouns are included in the category of proper nouns but the reverse doesn't hold, i.e., the पतिव्रता सीता is an instance of सीता but every occurrence of सीता cannot be interpreted as an instance of पतिव्रता सीता . Syntactically, it is not different from the noun phrase बड़ा आदमी as illustrated in the following sentences.

तुलसीदास की सीता पतिव्रता सीता हैं
गोदान के रायसाहब बड़े आदमी हैं

Classificatory proper nouns, in this manner, come very close to becoming common nouns.

4.4. The reverse of classificatory occurrence of proper noun can be both proper as well as common. Some of them even acquire the status of classificatory proper nouns. Examples of this kind abound in MSH dictionaries. Also the employment of adjectives as proper names of human beings as well as inanimate objects, places, etc. is a good example of this tendency. There is, however, an important difference between proper nouns and the designatory proper nouns. The former have an underlying structure, noun + determinator, and the latter, determinator + noun. This means that हिमालय पर्वत is understood in the manner of the sentence वह हिमालय जो पर्वत है "That Himalaya which is a mountain" rather than वह पर्वत जो हिमालय है "That mountain which is Himalaya".

4.5. It is hard to draw the line between the determinatory versus adjectival functions of adjectives. Observe the following sentences.

परमात्मा एक है और आत्माएं अनेक हैं

वहां पर अध्यापक तो एक है और बच्चे अनेक हैं

एक परमात्मा और अनेक आत्माओं को मानना सर्वथा युक्ति संगत है

वहां पर एक अध्यापक और अनेक बच्चे खड़े हैं

In other words if we use the term determinor for numerals and pronouns and reserve the term adjective for qualitative adjectives, without understanding the determinatory vs. adjectival relationship between adjectives and nouns, it would be hard to determine the underlying structure of the ambiguous noun phrase, say अबोध बच्चा
The two MSH interpretation of this noun phrase are as follows.

वह बच्चा जो अबोध है अबोध बच्चा है

"The child who is ignorant is an ignorant child."

अबोध बच्चा बच्चा है

"An ignorant child is a child."

The former interpretation implies that the noun phrase अबोध बच्चा is a designatory synonym of the classificatory noun बच्चा . In the latter interpretation the noun phrase अबोध बच्चा is implied by the classificatory noun बच्चा itself. Below we give a few more examples to illustrate the determinatory vs. adjectival functions of adjectives.

वह तरह तरह की बहुमूल्य चीजें मंगवाता है
पद्मा को उसने बारीक आंखों से पढ़ा है
उसने कील की पतली नोक चुभाली थी
आज उसने कुछ स्पष्ट बातें कहने का साहस बटोरा
फिर भी उसने ज़रा कड़े स्वर में पूछा

In the above sentences the adjectives तरह-तरह की "of various kinds", कील की "of the nail", पतली "thin", कुछ [1] are determinatory adjectives. The rest, with the exception of ज़रा in the last sentence, are adjectival adjectives. Among these the noun phrase कील की पतली नोक requires some comment. The underlying structure of this noun - phrase (above) cannot be interpreted here as कील की पतली नोक है. It is to be understood as कील का वह भाग जो पतली नोक है "that part of the nail which a thin end", i.e., "the thin end-part of a nail."

The above examples, we believe, are enough to establish the fact that the determinatory occurrence of adjectives with noun emphasizes the distinctive identification, whereas their adjectival occurrence preserves the characteristic similarity of nouns.

4.6. Determinatory occurrence of adjectives, in Guru's terms, is समानाधिकरण of adjectives with nouns. The समानाधिकरण adjectives, i.e., the adjectives which occur in determinatory relationship with nouns are determinators. Pronominal, numeral and qualitative adjectives occur as determinators. The adjectival occurrence of adjectives is characterized by Guru as व्याप्ति - मर्यादा of nouns by the adjectives. The व्याप्ति - मर्यादा adjectives, i.e., the adjectives which occur in adjectival relationship with nouns, are attributives. All attributive adjectives refer to non-inherent qualities. For instance, the qualitative adjective काला "black" is a determinator in the noun-phrase काला कौआ "a black crow" but is an attributive in काला घोड़ा "black horse".

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[1] Depending upon the interpretation that कुछ स्पष्ट बातें is derivable from कुछ बातें जो स्पष्ट हैं and not from बातें जो कुछ स्पष्ट है

Therefore the formulation of rules of selectional constraints between nouns and determinators as well as attributives involves systematization of the modes of expression of individual identity of nouns as opposed to the recognition of their mutual similarity. A systematization of determinators and attributives on these lines still remains to be done. Therefore we shall just present a few examples, first of the modes of expression of individual identity by means of determinators, and then of the recognition of mutual similarity between nouns by means of attributives.

Observe the sentences below

एक लड़का आया था
कोई लड़का आया था
वह लड़का आया था
लड़का आया था
कोई आया था
वह आया था

In these sentences the person who performed the act of coming, i.e., the boy, is identified as (a) वह लड़का "a boy" or "one boy" either implying that the speaker does not know the boy or indicating the definite number of boys -- one as opposed to two or three, etc., (b) कोई लड़का meaning a boy who is one of the many known to the addressee but the speaker is unable to identify him, or if the addressee has no previous knowledge of the boy, the speaker chooses not to reveal the identity of the boy because he does not know him, and is not certain about his own inference about the boy arrived at by him by means of conversation with the boy or the like, (c) वह लड़का "that boy" who is known both to the speaker and the addressee, and if the boy is present at the moment, the speaker told about him to the addressee, is identified by being pointed at and (d) लड़का "the boy" who is known both to the speaker and the addressee, and is not present at the place the conversation is taking place. The last two possibilities where कोई and वह are used as pro-forms for लड़का, कोई indicate nothing more than "some one" as opposed to "no one" or "nothing" and वह narrows down the ambiguity involved in the use of कोई considerably.

In the sentence मोहन अच्छा लड़का है, , the speaker identifies मोहन , i.e., a boy who is good. What is good about मोहन is not specified by the speaker. It may be just the speaker's feeling or something about मोहन himself which the speaker categorizes as "good". The point we want to make here is that the quality of being good is attributed to मोहन by the speaker, and not something inherent in him. However, in the following sentence, the qualitative adjective

मोहन एक बड़ा आदमी है

बड़ा may be interpreted as an attribute of आदमी who the person named मोहन or as a quality inherent in a category of men identifiable as "V.I.P.s" or the like.

Another important difference between determinators and attributives is that the former expressed or not are implied by the nouns, though their occurrence -- expressed or understood -- may be restricted in some environments. For example, in the following sentence the determinator एक गिलास indicating the measure of दूध may be expressed or not.

उसने एक गिलास दूध पिया

but in the under-noted sentence, the noun दूध is -[±measure].

उसका रंग दूध के समान सफेद है
आईसक्रीम दूध की बनती है

In other words, a simple rule of the kind Noun Phrase ------> (Det.) Noun is inadequate to take care of such restrictions.

The attirbutes, though not implied by the nouns, undergo restrictions of a different sort. For instance, human proper nouns permit the occurrence of attributives with their classificatory nouns.

मोहन बड़ा डरपोक आदमी है
मोहन महान् वैज्ञानिक है

Similarly we can get the following sentences. Both the nouns आदमी

वह आदमी बड़ा डरपोक है
वह आदमी महान वैज्ञानिक है

and वैज्ञानिक , while occurring as predicative determinators of the proper noun मोहन , permit the substantive occurrence of the qualitative adjectives डरपोक and महाने with them. The adjective डरपोक is an attributive of आदमी , which being a determiner of the proper noun मोहन , can be understood as imputing its own attributive in its determinant. But the noun वैज्ञानिक as a determiner of the proper noun मोहन , does not impute the quality महान् to its determinant. In other words, only the nouns आदमी and मोहन can be viewed in a classificatory-designatory-noun relationship with each other. Such a relationship does not exist between मोहन as well as आदमी on one hand and वैज्ञानिक on the other. Also the determiner plus noun strings डरपोक मोहन , महान् वैज्ञानिक मोहन , and the attributive plus noun string डरपोक आदमी are permitted in MSH. But the sequence like * डरपोक आदमी मोहन, * महान् वैज्ञानिक,आदमी * वैज्ञानिक आदमी * आदमी मोहन do not occur. The qualitative adjective डरपोक as an attributive of the noun आदमी because of the mutual relationship between आदमी and मोहन can be understood, as mentioned earlier, as a transferred attributive of मोहन . The determiner noun वैज्ञानिक which is neither related to आदमी nor to मोहन in the manner they are both related to each other restricts the occurrence of its attributive महान् as a transferred attributive of मोहन . Observe the contrast between the two occurrences of the adjective सर्वमान्य in the phrase which can be derived

सर्वमान्य प्रधान मन्त्री नेहरू
प्रधान मन्त्री सर्वमान्य नेहरू

from the following two sentences respectively.

प्रधान मन्त्री नेहरू सर्वमान्य प्रधान मन्त्री है

प्रधान मन्त्री नेहरू सर्वमान्य हैं

The sentence नेहरू सर्वमान्य प्रधान मन्त्री हैं has the underlying deep structure प्रधान मन्त्री नेहरू सर्वमान्य प्रधान मन्त्री है where the determiner प्रधान मन्त्री before नेहरू is ellided.

5. Adjectival Phrases.

5.1. Adjectival phrases are of several kinds -- (a) involving comparisons emphasizing either resemblance or degree, and (b) specificatory, specifying or determining the attributives. No attempt will be made here to interpret systematically the underlying structure of these adjectival phrases. Therefore the discussion below will be limited to exploring the grammatical properties of these adjectival phrases.

5.2. The adjectival phrases which emphasize comparison occur with the postpositions की तरह, के समान, (के) जैसा, की भांति, के सरीखा, के सदृश, (का) सा etc. There seems to be great confustion about the correct semantic interpretation of the comparative adjectival phrases indicating resemblance. Our data does not permit a full-scale discussion of all the possible types of these adjectival phrases. Therefore we shall illustrate the distinction between the adjectival phrases with the two postpositions की तरह and की भांति commonly regarded as mere stylistic variants of each other. Observe the following sentences.

जाओ, वज्र की तरह दृढ़ बनकर इतिहास - विधाता के क्रूर प्रहारों को सहो

( चारू, १४ )

शायद उसको क्रोधित देखकर मुझे सन्तोष होता, परन्तु उसका हृदय बच्चे की तरह कोमल था

( राह, ३० )

हमें कुछ ऐसा करना है कि सारी प्रजा दुर्भेद्य चट्टान की तरह एक हो जाए और किसी को उसकी ओर आंख उठाने का साहस ही न हो

( चारू, ६६ )

मैं यूकलिप्टस के तने की तरह साफ, सीधा, और लम्बा था

( राह, १ )

उसका दिल चांदनी की तरह उजला है

( बूंद, ३७ )

वह एक व्यस्क की तरह गम्भीर हो कर बैठा था

( राकेश, १७ )

अन्धेरे में एक जगमगाते जहाज़ की तरह स्थिर और निश्चल

( वे दिन, ४६ )

In all the above sentences the adjectives are related to the nouns in the postpositional phrases as their inherent qualities, and they are looked upon by the speaker either as supposed attributes or as inherent qualities of the referrent nouns of these adjectives. In the adjectival phrases with की भांति the adjectives indicating the inherent qualities of nouns in the postpositional phrases are understood as the attributes of their referrent nouns. Also की तरह indicates the

the qualities as objective realities and की भांति their subjective appearance. Compare the above-noted examples with the sentences below.

वे शत्रु के सामने दुर्भेद्य चट्टान की भांति कठोर है

( चारु, ७३ )

उनका सारा शरीर निवात - निष्कम्प दीप - शिखा की भांति स्थिर और प्रशान्त था

( बाण, ७९ )

चित्रलेखा का प्रेम सागर की भांति गम्भीर है

( चित्र, ७२ )

यह वाक्य तीर की भांति पैना था

( चित्र, २३ )

चित्रलेखा मूर्ति की भांति मौन बैठी थी

( चित्र, ९४ )

रानी मान कुमारी का वर्ण चम्पा की भांति पीला तथा सुनहला था

( स० स०, ६२ )

If we substitute की भांति with की तरह in the above-noted sentences, these such newly formed sentences will be entirely different in meaning from their original counterparts, and some are likely to be interpreted as non-sentences. For example, the subject वे in the sentence below where it contains reference to animate noun (pl.) on substitution of की भांति by की तरह would refer to inanimate noun (pl.).

वे शत्रु के सामने दुर्भेद्य चट्टान की भांति कठोर है ( चारू, ७३ )

The sentence चित्रलेखा का प्रेम सागर की भांति गंभिर है likewise will become a non-sentence.

* चित्रलेखा का प्रेम सागर की तरह गंभिर है

A comparison of these sentences will also reveal the kind of selectional constraints on verbs and nouns which center around the d distinction between की तरह and की भांति . The effect of these constraints can be illustrated by the contrast between the undernoted sentences where की भांति restricts the sentence embedding with लग

. बीजगुप्त को लगता है कि चित्रलेखा का प्रेम सागर की भांति गंभिर है

* बीजगुप्त को चित्रलेखा का प्रेम सागर की भांति गंभिर लगता है

5.3. The distinction between (के) जैसा and( का ) जैसा is also like की तरह and की भांति .

5.4. The adjectival phrases involving degree of comparison occur with the postpositions के, के सामने, के सम्मुख, के आगे, की तुलना में, की बनिस्बत, के मुकाबले में, के बराबर, के निकट and की अपेक्षा . Below we will briefly explain the distinction between से and की अपेक्षा .

से indicates "absolutely more or less" and की अपेक्षा "relatively more or less".

हिन्दी में संज्ञाओं की विभक्तियों की संख्या संस्कृत से बहुत कम हैं

"The number of endings of nouns in Hindi is less than in Sanskrit"

हिन्दी में संज्ञाओं की विभक्तियों की संख्या संस्कृत की अपेक्षा बहुत कम है

"The number of endings of nouns in Hindi is very little in relation to Sanskrit"

Also the kind of absolute comparison indicated by से is absent in की अपेक्षा

- - - कि पश्चिमी समुद्र तट पर पंजिम गोआ से सुन्दर दूसरी कोई जगह नहीं है

( राकेश, १० )

". . .that there is no other place on the western coast more beautiful than Panjim Goa.

लेकिन मृत्यु जीवन की अपेक्षा अधिक सबल थी
( स० स०, ३४१ )

"But death was relatively more powerful than life"

The comparison, i.e., "relatively better or worse", indicated by की अपेक्षा can be contrasted with "comparatively better or worse" indicator की तुलना में in the following sentences.

- - - और जब दूसरी वस्तु प्रथम वस्तु की तुलना में अधिक अच्छी प्रतीत हुई तब उसने पुराने माध्यम का स्थान ग्रहण कर लिया
( एमाई, १५ )

- - - और जब एक वस्तु दूसरी वस्तु की अपेक्षा अच्छी प्रतीत हुई तब उसने माध्यम का स्थान ग्रहण कर लिया

The postposition की तुलना में implies a comparative statement about two objects, the one of which is seen potentially more useful than the one already assigned that attribute. The postposition की अपेक्षा has no such specific implication. Moreover, "having a more or less potential" implies a conclusion arrived at by comparing two things, where as "being relatively better or worse" is a value judgment.

The difference in meaning conveyed by these two postpositions is generally conveyed by assingning two different meanings to the same verbs as

N की तुलना में अधिक अच्छा जंच vs. N की अपेक्षा अधिक अच्छा जंच

on the lines of the distinction between seem on one hand and look or appear on the other. Consequently the sentences containing की तुलना में are neither attached to the sentences with लग nor are they embedded into the sentences containing this verb. Therefore much remains to be said about the sentences of the following kinds.

यह पुस्तक मुझे अच्छी लगती है
मुझे लगता है कि यह पुस्तक अच्छी है
मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि यह पुस्तक अच्छी है
मुझे यह लगता है कि यह पुस्तक अच्छी है
मुझे ऐसे लगता है कि यह पुस्तक अच्छी है
मुझे कभी कभी लगता है कि यह पुस्तक अच्छी है

All the above sentences contrast with sentences with प्रतीत हो -

यह पुस्तक मुझे अच्छी प्रतीत होती है

5.5. The specificatory adjectival phrases are relatively more numerous than the comparative phrases. The postpositions के अतिरिक्त, के अलावा, के अनुसार, की ओर, को, ( से लेकर ) - - - तक, के परे, के प्रति, में, के विरुद्ध, के विपरीत, के रूप से, के द्वारा, के लिए की तौर etc. occur almost exclusively in specificatory adjectival phrases. The other postpositions, like से for instance, occur in specificatory as well as comparative adjectival phrases. All adjectival phrases with the postposition का are specificatory phrases.

There are numerous problems aconcerning these adjectival phrases. Therefore only an example or two will be discussed here. Observe the following sentences with the adjective दृढ .

वह अपने निश्चय पर दृढ़ न रह सका

वह अपने निश्चय पर दृढ़ है

Compare the above two sentences with the following, where the adjective दृढ़ is not expandable into the phrase N पर दृढ़ . However, the

उसका निश्चय दृढ़ न रह सका
* उसका निश्चय N पर दृढ़ न रह सका
उसका निश्चय दृढ़ है
* उसका निश्चय N पर दृढ़ है

adjective दृढ़ can occur substantively with the nouns such as निश्चय, व्यक्ति , etc.

उसका दृढ़ निश्चय
अपने निश्चय पर दृढ़ व्यक्ति

The above examples show that the qualitative adjective दृढ़ is an attributive of व्यक्ति but a determiner of निश्चय .

Following sentences with the adjective मुग्ध illustrate another property of adjectives.

राजा उर्वशी के सौन्दर्य पर मुग्ध हो जाता है

शर्मा जी, मैं तो आप पर मुग्ध हूं

माधवी अपने प्रत्येक नृत्य पर सबको मुग्ध करती जा रही थी

In the adjectival phrases with adjectives like मुग्ध , the nouns occurring in adjectival phrases are constrained in the manner the above-noted three sentences contrast with the following.

उर्वशी ने राजा को अपने सौन्दर्य पर मुग्ध कर लिया
शर्मा जी, आपने तो मुझे मुग्ध कर लिया है
माधवी के प्रत्येक नृत्य पर सब मुग्ध होते जा रहे थे

Adjectival phrases, both comparative and specificatory, permit the occurrence of nouns, pseudo-nouns[1] and adjectives. We give below just one example each of these usages.

> - - - कोवलन जादू - बंधे मेढ़े की भांति ऐसी दृष्टि से माधवी को देखने लगा जो रस मग्न से अधिक कातर थी
>
> ( सुहाग, १६४ )

> मैं उन वृक्षों की माया नहीं काट सका, जो जंगली हाथियों के मदजल से सिक्त हो कर बढ़े हैं, जिनके मस्तक पर के श्वेत कुसुम बहुत ऊंचे पर स्थित होने के कारण उलझे हुए नक्षत्रों के समाने शोभित होते हैं - - -
>
> ( बाण, १२४ )

## 6. Compound Adjectives.

6.1. Compound adjectives are of two kinds -- (a) tatsama and (b) non-tatsama. We would like to reserve the term tatsama for those compound adjectives which cannot be generated from the MSH adjectival phrases, and may have to be treated as complex lexical items even though the adjectives forming the part of such phrases occur independently also.

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[1] The term pseudo-noun is explained in the section on adverbs.

A few examples are given below.

सभी जानते हैं कि कलाएं ज्ञातृ - सापेक्ष होती हैं और विज्ञान ज्ञेय - सापेक्ष

( आलोचना, ३१-१२ )

प्रारम्भिक अवस्था में मनुष्य आत्म - निर्भर हुआ करते थे

( एमाई, ५ )

The non-tatsama compound adjective is a cover term for all kinds of compounds which are generated by the rules of MSH grammar as illustrated in the following sentences.

आजकल जनतंत्री संस्थाएं एवं राजनैतिक संगठन सभी मुद्रा - प्रभावित हैं

( एमाई, ४४ )

ऐसे ही कृती पिता का मैं पुत्र था - जन्म का आवारा, गप्पी, अस्थिर - चित्त और घुमक्कड़

( बाण, २ )

यह तो केवल प्राप्ति के लिये एक काम - चलाऊ शब्द व्यवहार किया गया है

The underlined structure of the compounds underlined in the sentences above is probably of the following sort.

| | |
|---|---|
| मुद्रा - प्रभावित | मुद्रा से प्रभावित |
| अस्थिर - चित्त | चित्त से अस्थिर |
| काम - चलाऊ शब्द | शब्द से काम चलता है |

Such compounds are very rare in MSH writings, but may be expected more and more in some specialized varieties of discourses.

6.2. It may not be out of place to mention that the compounding of the kind mentioned above is being extended to participial phrases also. A few examples are given below.

मैन सिंह को जैसे मन - चाही वस्तु मिल गई हो

( चारू, ४२६ )

चबूतरे के पास ही खड़ी पाल - बंधी नौकाएं घाट छोड़ कर आगे की ओर बढ़ा दी गई - - -

( सुहाग, १५ )

सुनो, इस छोटे से फूल - बसे घर में मुझे कभी - कभी बड़े अजीब अनुभव हुए हैं

( ठेले, ३९ )

- - - मैं स्वप्न - डूबी निगाहों से उन फूलों को देख रहा था और तुम प्यार - डूबी निगाहों से मुझे

( ठेले, १८ )

- - - सबसे ऐसी छेड़ - भरी बातें करती कि - - -

( सुहाग, ६९ )

माधवी के विनय - रंगे दर्प से - - -

( सुहाग, २४ )

इस प्रकार के अनेक अवसाद - सने क्या उसे - क्रमश थकाते चलाते थे

( सुहाग, १७३ )

दासों ने हाथ जोड़ कर बजरे के पर्दों - पड़े कमरे की ओर संकेत किया - - -

( सुहाग, १४३ )

ऊपर से सूखी दरारों - पड़ी फटी होने पर भी धरती - -

( सुहाग, १८९ )

## 7. Synonymous Adjectives.

7.1. Since we have not described adjectives to the extent it is necessary for this exploratory study of MSH grammar, we think it is necessary to say a few words about some adjectives which are interpreted as style synonyms of each other.[1]

7.2. We would like to observe that the pairs of adjectives like the following are not just style synonyms in MSH. They are semantically distinct in the language irrespective of the fact one member of a pair belongs to one stratum of the lexical stock and the other to a different stratum. Observe the distinction between the following pairs of synonymous adjectives.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| जिन्दा | "alive" | जीवित | "living" |
| ठंडा | "cold" | शीतल | "cool" |
| हर (एक) | "every(one)" | प्रति , प्रत्येक | "each (one)" |

A few adjectives are cited along with verbs, and all the sequences are mistranslated in the paper.

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[1] See P.A. Barannikov, "Style Synonyms in Modern Hindi", Indian Linguistics, Vol. 22 (1961), pp. 64-85. The examples discussed here are taken from this paper by Barannikov. Since the contexts of the occurrence of these adjectives given by Baramrikov are clear enough, they will not be repeated here. The meaning distinctions of adjectives suggested by us are lexical with as little imposition of grammatical features as possible here.

| Barannikov's translation | | Adjective-Verb Sequence |
|---|---|---|
| "to receive" | हासिल कर | "to obtain" |
| | प्राप्त कर | "to acquire" |
| "to destroy" | बरबाद कर | "to ruin" |
| | नष्ट कर | "to destroy" |
| "to satisfy" | पूरा कर | "to complete" |
| | पूर्ण कर | "to fulfill" |
| "to gladden" | खुश कर | "to please (tr.)" |
| | प्रसन्न कर | "to make (someone) happy" |

Similarly पहला , प्रथम, दूसरा, द्वितीय, तीसरा, तृतीय etc. do overlap in meaning in the sense first, second, third, and so on. Both sets of ordinal numerals indicate sequence, पहला, दूसरा, तीसरा etc. are first, second, third etc. in order of time whereas प्रथम , द्वितीय, तृतीय etc. are used in MSH to indicate the serial order, not necessarily in time. Moreover the former set implies a discreet order and the latter ±discreet order.

## 1. Classification

1.1. The part-of-speech specification of words like आज, कल अब, ऊपर etc. as adverbs in the dictionary of MSH should not be taken to mean that the adverbs are a lexical category in the language. Unlike nouns, adjectives and verbs, adverbs are a syntactic category.

1.2. On the basis of their occurrence in sentences, adverbs can be designated as (a) sentence-adverbs and (b) adverbs proper. The sentence adverbs are adjoined to the sentences and the adverbs proper (or briefly adverbs) to the verbs. Observe the following sentences.

सचमुच मुझे धीरेन्द्र से ईर्ष्या हुई

( राह, ८ )

इसी प्रकार एक देवा के निवासी अन्य देशों के निवासियों के सम्पर्क में आते हैं

( एमाइ, ३६ )

निस्सन्देह वह कहीं किसी खास चीज़ पर आखें टिकए था -- ऐसा कुछ जो मेरी आंखों के घेरे के भीतर छुआ भी मुझसे अछूता था

( जलती झाड़ी, ८१ )

1.3. Pseudonouns, noun and adjectives occur as adverbs in sentences. Among these three lexical categories, the nouns and the adjectives do not require any explanation before we discuss their participation as adverbs. Therefore we shall briefly describe the category of pseudonouns alone.

1.4. Pseudonouns are a mixed class of morpheme simplexes as well as complexes which occur by themselves and/or as postpositions, With the exception of some borrowed items like हठात् , बलात् मजबूरन , निस्संदेह etc. most pseudonouns are either inherently nouns or adjectives. For instance, आज, कल, अब, ऊपर etc. are nouns and नीचे, अनुकूल, प्रतिकूल, विरुद्ध, खिलाफ etc. are adjectives. The common characteristics which distinguish these pseudonouns from nouns as well as adjectives are that they always imply oblique forms, do not occur with number and, with some exception, function as postpositions with the postpositions के and/or से .

Besides these grammatical characteristics, the lexical property common to all pseudonouns is that they do not have any fixed denotater. The term shifter applied by Otto Jespessen and Roman Jakobson to proper nouns and pronouns, etc equally applies to these pseudonouns also. For instance, the noun सोमवार "Monday" as the name of the first day of the week and the pseudonoun आज are both shifters, the only difference is that आज is like मैं "I" and सोमवार like मोहन , "name of a person".

All pseudonouns can be classified as designatory and classificatory on the basis of their occurrence in postpositions. For instance अब जब , कब etc. are purely designatory pseudonouns and do not occur in postpositions. समय, पहले, ऊपर, नीचे, यहां, वहां occur as designatory as well as classificatory pseudonouns. अतिरिक्त, अनुकूल, प्रतिकूल etc. are purely classificatory pseudonouns. Only classificatory pseudonouns occur in postpositions. For instance, the pseudonoun अन्दर can occur both as a designatory as well as a classificatory pseudonoun, whereas अन्तर्गत् occurs only as a classificatory pseudonoun

A few pseudonouns like प्रकार which do not occur in postpositions, and some like रूप, भांति, तरह etc. which do occur in postpositions, are obligatorily preceded by some adjectives, e.g., भली प्रकार, उचित रूप से, अच्छी तरह, इस भांति There are others, the occurrence of adjectives with which is optional, e.g., ( बहुत ) नीचे, ( बहुत ) दूर and so on. The pseudonouns which occur with adjectives obligatorily, whether or not they occur in postpositions, are classificatory pseudonouns.

Pseudonouns belong to three classes on the basis of their occurrence in postpositions with the linking postpositions के, की and से.

ऊपर, नीचे, आगे, पीछे, etc. occur with both के and से ,अनुकूल , प्रतिकूल, अपेक्षा occur with के, की and दूर with से alone.
Observe the contrast in the following sentences

वह मेरे आगे खड़ा है

"He is standing in front of me"

वह मुझ से आगे खड़ा है

"He is standing ahead of me."

## 2. Postpositions

2.1. The postpositions can be grouped into classes: (a) simple postpositions, and (b) complex postpositions. Simple postpositions में, से, पर, तक, मर, को, and का are the true postpositions. Complex postpositions which are over 125 in number are all generated with the pseudonouns.

2.2. Besides these two kinds of postpositions a few verbal postpositions have also to be recognized. Among these को लेकर is well known. The others are को छोड़ कर, जाकर, चलकर, मिलाकर, and से बढ़कर etc.

## 3. Selection of Postpositions

3.1. In the section on action noun phrases, we established the category of locus constituent. We defined the locus constituent of an action noun phrase as a locus to which the activity indicated by the activity noun is directed. We also mentioned the fact that the direction of the activity to its locus is indicated by a linking postposition which is implied by the activity noun. Observe the following sentences.

उन्होंने हमारी निजी भूमिपर अधिकार कर लिया है
( स० स०, १०४ )

- - - और अनन्त निद्रा मुझपर अपना अधिकार न कर ले
( स० स०, ६४ )

व्यवहार जगत् केवल कार्य से सम्बन्ध रखता है - - -
( सहित्यकार, ३४ )

अन्यथा आज यह सचमुच का चीनी, सारे इलाहाबाद को
छोड़कर मुझसे बहिन का सम्बन्ध क्यों जोड़ने आता
( स्मृति, २० )

Some recent studies in the syntax of MSH tend to confuse the locus of activity nouns with adverbs on the assumption that the selection of the postpositions पर and से as illustrated above is dependent on the nouns which precede these postpositions.

3.2. Selection of a postposition with an adverbial noun as well as a pseudonoun depends upon the noun or the pseudonoun itself and the verb in a sentence. Observe the following sentences:

उसने पुस्तक यहां ( पर ) रखी थी
वह पुस्तक यहां से ले गया था

In the first sentence the pseudonoun implies the postposition which may or may not be expressed. In the second the postposition से cannot be ellided. यहां is primarily a + पर pseudonoun, and as a pro-form implies the nouns like जगह, स्थान, मेज as illustrated in the following sentences.

उसने किताब इस जगह ( पर ) रखी थी

उसने किताब इस स्थान पर रखी थी
उसनें किताब मेज पर रखी थी
उसने किताब जमीन पर रखी थी

As place adverbs the nouns स्थान, मेज, and जमीन imply an open space as opposed to an enclosed place, and the pseudonoun यहां(पर) is also +open space in its above-noted occurrence. In addition to having the feature +open space, यहां has another feature, +deictic, +proximate. The selection of the postposition पर (either implied or expressed) with यहां, though primarily based on its feature +open space, also presupposes its feature +deictic, +proximate but the reverse is not true. In all its occurrences as a +deictic, +proximate pseudonoun यहां obligatorily requires one of the several postpositions which do not contradict its feature +open space. में, भर, के बीच में, के अन्दर etc. are such contradictory postpositions. The selection of a non-contradictory postposition with यहां will depend upon the verb, if it occurs as an adverb or on the other constituents if its occurrence in a sentence is non-adverbial. Observe the following sentence.

और इसी लिए मैं तो यहां तक कहूंगा कि - - -
( दो बाके, १११ )

3.3. All pseudonouns and nouns occur as adverbs of place, direction, time or manner, and imply only one of the several simple postpositions. These implied postpositions are the primary postpositions of these pseudonouns and nouns.

All complex postpositions indicate various distinctions within the above four grammatical categories of adverbs.

3.4. The nouns which are lexically neither place, direction, time nor manner occur adverbially in one or more of these grammatical categories but never without a postposition.

In order to throw some light on the kind of selectional constraints which operate between the nouns and pseudonouns, and the postpositions, and between the adverbial constituent and the verb, we give below a few examples of abstract nouns occurring as manner adverbs with the postpositions के साथ and पूर्वक .

डोरी सिंह ने बैठक में पहुंच कर फकीर को आदर के साथ बिठलाया। बोला - फकीर साहब मैंने बिलकुल नहीं पहचान पाया। अब भी धोखा खा रहा हूं

( कचनार, २७६ )

यशोधरा ने आदर पूर्वक चित्रलेखा को आसन दिया

( चित्रलेखा, ७८ )

कचनार ने कोमलता के साथ उसके कन्धे को दबाकर वैसे ही पड़ा रहने दिया

( कचनार, ३२० )

बड़ी धीरता के साथ उन्होंने इस विपत्ति का सामना किया

( स० स०, ६५ )

जयन्ती अत्यन्त संकोच के साथ मुझे कनखियों से देख रही थी

( सन्यासी, २७२ )

पहली बार कामिनी व्यंग्यपूर्वक, मुस्कराई

( राह, २२ )

- - - अपनी सौतेली मां पर अधिकार पूर्वक शासन करती है

( सन्यासी, ४३ )

जल्हण विश्वास पूर्वक कह जाता है कि रानी आकाश-मार्ग से उड़ती हुई कामरूप से सोमतीर्थ तक जनता में आत्मविश्वास का सन्देश दे रही है

( चारु, ३८८ )

On the basis of usages like the above, the two postpositions can be assigned following features.

| | |
|---|---|
| के साथ - | +extraneous quality, +striking, +transitory |
| पूर्वक | +intrinsic characteristic, +evident, -transitory. |

One can translate the underlined adverbs with the help of the feature specification of postposition in the following manner:

| | |
|---|---|
| आदर के साथ | with a(n) (outward) show of respect, respectfully. |
| आदर पूर्वक | in her characteristic respectfullness |
| कोमलता के साथ | with a soft touch, delicately |
| धीरता के साथ | patiently |
| संकोच के साथ | in a strikingly deep sense of hesitation |
| व्यंग्यपूर्वक | In an ironic manner |
| अधिकारपूर्वक | with a characteristic dominance |
| विश्वासपूर्वक | In his characteristic tone of belief, in a manner worthy of belief. |

## 4. Contrastive Features of Synonymous Postpositions

4.1. In this section we shall illustrate contrasts between some synonymous postpositions. The feature specification of these postpositions is tentative, and intended more as an illustration of the methodology involved rather than as conclusions of some kind.

के उपरान्त : के अनन्तर : के पश्चात् ,: के बाद

के उपरान्त - after, +emphasis on a period or a span of time of the preceding event

के अनन्तर - after, +emphasis on a period or a span of time of the following event

के पश्चात - after, +in the order of time

के बाद - after, +in the order of time, +in the order of place

मरने के उपरान्त कोई किसी का कुछ भी नहीं कर सकता

( कचनार, २०३ )

--- या स्वयं कामदेवता ने शिव को प्रसन्न करने के उपरान्त अपने पाप के प्रायश्चित्त में यह कठोरचर्या आरम्भ की है

( बाण, २१० )

जब हिंसा का वह ताण्डव - मर्तन मानव की पैशाचिकता के रूप में, नर - संहार करने के उपरान्त समूल समाप्त हो गया तब सम्राट के सुकुमार हृदय की सुषुप्त-कोमल भावनायें जागृत हुईं

( यादव, ६८ )

वधू के गृह - प्रवेश के उपरान्त पण्डितों और स्त्रियों द्वारा आवश्यक पूजा - अर्चना और रीति - निभावन के पश्चात वे पुत्र-वधू को अन्तःपुर के मुख्य कोषागार में ले गए, वधू से लक्ष्मी का पूजन करवाया और ताली सौंपी

( सुहाग, ८६ )

उपरोक्त सम्भाषण के अनन्तर आचार्य अनायास ही मौन - मुखर हो गये

( यादव, ६८ )

घोषणा के अनन्तर महाराज ने राज्य - सभा स्थगित कर दी और मन्त्रणा गृह में आ बैठे

( यादव, ३७ )

कोवलन की माता के स्वर्गवास के पश्चात् उनकी सतखण्डा हवेली के अधिकतर कोठे - परकोठों में ताले जड़ गये थे

( सुहाग

प्रारम्भिक उपचार के पश्चात् उसे वहीं वृक्ष के उस घोंसले में जा लिटाया जो खाली दिखा और लगा उसी का हो गया

( यादव, १६ )

पति की मृत्यु के बाद उसका संसार अन्धकारमय हो गया

( चित्र , ६० )

बीज गुप्त के जाने के बाद श्वेतांक ने चित्रलेखा से कहा

( चित्र, २९ )

गुरु को प्रणाम करने के बाद वे मेरी ओर फिरे

( बाण, ७७ )

की ओर : की तरफ

की ओर - towards, +reference to the vicinity, +direction

की तरफ - towards, +reference to a point, +side

सासेज की भीनी गन्ध चारों ओर फैलने लगी

( वे दिन, २६ )

मैं उसी की तरह हर बात को प्रेम या मज़ाक की ओर मोड़ने की कोशिश करता और उसी की तरह मैं हाथ - पर - हाथ मारकर ज़ोर का ठहाका लगाता था ।

( राह, ८ )

बारमैन ने हाथ से पीछे की ओर इशारा किया जिस तरफ कुर्सियां और मेज़ें रखी थी ।

( वे दिन, १६२ )

सज्जन ने अपनी सज्जनता का आडम्बर फैलाते हुए हाथ का अखबार एक ओर फेंककर सुनने की उत्सुकता दिखलाई

( बूंद, ३० )

वह दूकानों की तरफ चला आया

( जलती झाड़ी, १४२ )

--- जब पुलिस वाले राजपथ से जुआरियों को हवालात की तरफ ले चले तो बन्धुओं में मेरा भाई भी था

( अपनी खबर, २६ )

मैं भी पल भर ध्यान से लड़के की तरफ देखता रहा

( राकेश, १७)

ताई ज़ीने की तरफ दौड़ीं, जोश में ऊपर तक चढ़ती चली गईं

( नंदु, २० )

के कारण : की वजह से

के कारण - because of, + determinant, +direct

की वजह से - because of, ± determinant, -direct

. मेरी सुन्दरता के कारण लोग मुझे नष्ट करना चाहते है मुझे मिटाना चाहते है ।

( स० स०, १३६ )

शिघ्रता के कारण उनके हाथ से कज्जल - चूर्ण का डिव्वा लुढ़क गया और करीब करीब खाली हो गया

( बाण, ३६ )

आचरण - भ्रष्टा नारी के कारण संपूर्ण राज्य - व्यवस्था कराह रही है

( यादव, ३ )

लेकिन अपनी नैसर्गिक सरलता के कारण वह एक परदेशी के प्रणय बाणों का शिकार हो जाती है

( ज्योति, ३४ )

दिल्ली में छः वर्ष रहने के कारण वह हिन्दी अच्छी तरह बोलने और समझने लगे थे,

( स० स०, २६ )

---- कि वह उसी की वजह से रोटी कमाकर खा रहा है

( राकेश, ५५ )

मुझे लग रहा था जैसे साबरमती अगले रोज मेरी वजह से ही आ रहा हो

( राकेश, ४१ )

मैं मैले कपड़ों की वजह से झिझकता रहा

( राकेश, ४४ )

इन्हीं बंधनों की वजह से ही तो इंसानियत आज भी झकोला खा रही है

( बूंद, ६५ )

मैं मुहल्लेवाले गलत फहमियों की वजह से मुझे अक्सर परेशान करते हैं

के पूर्व : के पहले

के पूर्व - before, +prior to a period in time

के पहले - before, +prior to a point in time

विश्वविद्यालय में आने के पूर्व मैं भोंदू था, परन्तु अब पायजामा कमीज़ से कोट - पैन्ट पर आ गया था ।

( राह, ७ )

प्रजा ने इसके पूर्व तो कभी मेरे लिये कोई परवाह नहीं की है

( बाण, २२० )

देने के पूर्व उन्होंने कुछ मन्त्र पढ़े

( बाण, ७६ )

सुन्दर मुख जिसकी कान्ति समय के बहुत पहले उतर गई थी और बड़ी - बड़ी आंखें जो गढ़े में धंस रही थीं तथा जो कभी कभी बुरी तरह चमक उठती थीं

( दो बाँके, १६ )

तो कल दो बजे के पहले हम लोगों को बम्बई पहुंच जाना चाहिये

( अपने खिलौने, २०४ )

सूबेदार अपनी तोपों और सेना को लेकर उसी फकीर के साथ सागर की ओर प्रात: काल के पहले ही चला गया

( कचनार, २६३ )

महासागर के शान्त वक्षस्थल पर भयानक झंझावात उठने के पहले एक घोर निस्तब्धता छा जाती है

( चित्र, ६७ )

के संग : के साथ

के संग - along with; implies discreteness, loose association, togetherness in the participation in an activity

के साथ - with; emphasizes loss of identity, physical proximity, convergence into a single goal

एक दबी, खिंची सांस के संग धुआं बाहर निकल आता है - - - आंखें अधमुंदी - सी रह जाती हैं - - -

( जलती झाड़ी, ८६ )

- - - तुम अगर उसे अपने संग ले जाते, तो कुछ भी नहीं होता ।

( जलती झाड़ी, १२६ )

उसकी आवाज़ के संग हमेशा एक और आवाज़ मन में आती थी - - - किसी दिन वहां जाऊंगा

( जलती झाड़ी, ७६ )

पिछली लड़ाई में जब नाज़ियों ने बेल्ज़ियम पर कब्ज़ा किया, तो अन्य यहूदी धार्मिक स्थानों के संग इस सिनानोग को भी जला डाला था ।

( जलती झाड़ी, ३० )

तब हम उठ जाते थे और फिर भागने लगते थे - - - और लैम्पपोस्ट के थाने पर जब हम एक - दूसरे को देखते थे तब हमारे खुले हुए मुंह से बाहर निकलती हुई सांस के साथ गर्म सफ़ेद भाप बाहर निकल आती थी ।

( वे दिन, १७२ )

तुम इस बार फ्रान्ज़ के साथ क्यों नहीं चली जातीं

( वे दिन, ६५ )

पहले तो पान्सा ने यह प्रयत्न कि मानाइहन के साथ राजधानी जाने वाला प्राणांधि - वर्ग अपने - आप में ही फूट जाय ।

( सुहाग, १७४ )

पहले जो भी मतलब रहा हो, वह दिन महीनों, वर्षों के साथ धुंधला पड़ता गया था

( वे दिन, ३१ )

उनका पानी बाहर निकलकर छोटे - छोटे चहबच्चों मे जमा हो गया था - - - पानी प्याज़ और अंडों के छिल्के लम्बे सिलसिले कान्ट्रासेप्टिव्ज़ जो उन दिनों कारीडोर में इधर - उधर बिखरे रहते थे

( वे दिन, १०० )

जब आता था, उन लोगो की भीड़ लग जाती थी, जिन्हें शाम अपनी डेट के साथ बितानी हो

( वे दिन, १४६ )

के स्थान पर : की जगह

**के स्थान पर** - instead of; implies replacement of one object or an activity with another

**की जगह** - instead of; suggests modification without complete replacement or loss of identity

हो सकता है कि मौलाना रियाजुलहक कल सुबह वापस लौटने के स्थान पर आज ही लौट पड़े हों

( स० स०, ५५ )

तीन दिन हो गए, लेकिन हालत सुधरने के स्थान पर बिगड़ती ही जा रही है

( अपने खिलौने, १२६ )

जिस काम के लिए वह आया था, वह बनने की जगह बिगड़ गया

( चित्र, १२२ )

तुमने मुझे दण्ड देने की जगह मुझ पर कृपा की है

( चित्र, २७ )

और फिर से गिनने में वह साढ़े पन्द्रह आने की जगह पन्द्रह आने ही को सोलह बतला मां को दे देता

( अपनी खबर, ३६ )

बुराइयों से लड़ने और उन पर विजय पाने की जगह हम उन बुराइयों में डूबते चले जाते हैं ।

( स० स०, ११८ )

जब भीड़ का एक रैला बह जाता, उसकी जगह नई भीड़ जमा हो जाती

( वे दिन, १०५ )

### के बगैर : के बिना

वे बगैर - without, +inherent relation, +necessity

के बिना - without, -inherent relation, ±necessity

वे हमारे जीवन का अंग हैं और उनके बगैर हमारा काम नहीं चल सकता

( पाश्चात्य, ७ )

पर क्या करें साहब, यह पुलिस का महकमा गाली के बगैर काम ही नहीं कर सकता

( बूंद, ५४ )

इस लिए उसे जब ताश कम्पनी की नौकरी मिली, तो उसने बगैर हील - हुज्जत के स्वीकार करली

( राकेश, ८८ )

वहां कोई भी शख्स कुण्डल, मुकुट और माला बगैर नहीं दीखता था

( अपनी खबर, ४२ )

महाराज सातवाहन रानी के बिना तूफान से नहीं जूझ पायेंगे

( चारू, १६२ )

बोली - - - - -, बिना कारण हंसना बुरा समझा जाता है

( कचनार, २४६ )

सुचरीता ने बीना हिचक के छूटते ही जवाब दिया

( बाण, २१६ )

मशाल तेल बिना बुझ गई ।

( सुहाग, २२६ )

के समान  :  की तरह

के समान- like, +likeness to some object or a person, +analogous, +comparable

की तरह - . like, +similarity in appearance, +similar, +akin

जनता उस पर थूकती थी, सिपाही कोड़े लगाकर पशु के समान उसे अगले चौराहें पर हांक ले जाते थे

( सुहाग, २६० )

एक बार निकट से आंखों में आंखें डालकर पति को अलभ्य प्राप्त वस्तु के समान आनन्द - अधीर दृष्टि से कन्नगी ने देखा फिर लजाकर पति की छाती में मुंह छिपा लिया ।

( सुहाग, २३९ )

जीवन में मैंने उसके बाद बहुत दु:ख झेले है, पर उस क्षण-भर के प्रत्याख्यान के समान कष्ट मुझे कभी नहीं हुआ

( बाण, १३ )

क्या मैं भी सातवाहन के समान इस देश में जातीय गौरव की पुन: प्रतिष्ठा करा सकता हूं

( चारू, १९ )

जिस जिह्वा से सावण के मेघ के समान निरन्तर वाग्धारा झड़ती रहती थी उसे जैसे काठ मार गया

( बाण, २९९ )

मैं चाहता हूं कि शुष्क बालु की तरह इस हृदय का कण - कण जर्रा जर्रा निखिल शून्य में बिखर जाय

( सन्यासी, ८ )

ऐसे भीषण उन्माद का अंतिम परिणाम यह हुआ है कि मैं साधारण अवस्था की तरह अपने घर को वापस चली आई ।

( लज्जा, ७४ )

- - - बालक - बालिकाएं अनाथ की तरह मारे - मारे फिर रहे हैं

१२४, ५

मैं स्तब्ध होकर काठ के उल्लू की तरह देखता रह गया

( सन्यासी, २१५ )

मैं शराबी की तरह धक्के खा रहा था

( सन्यासी, ४६ )